

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Expose new Teamster trickery Farm workers urge --Step up boycott!



Militant/Howard Petrick

More than 7,500 marched in funeral procession for Nagi Daifullah, Arab farm worker killed by a deputy sheriff. Cesar Chavez condemned new Teamster moves to divert attention from killings.

By HARRY RING

ARVIN, Calif., Aug. 21 — United Farm Workers Union President Cesar Chavez has denied recent news reports that the Teamsters union had given up its grape con-

For additional on-the-spot coverage of the United Farm Workers struggle, turn to pages 8-9.

tracts in the Delano area and is in effect leaving the grape workers to UFW jurisdiction.

Chavez charged that the announcement was designed as a smokescreen to distract attention from the fact that two members of the UFW have been killed. He

said the growers, the Teamsters, and the police are responsible for these deaths.

Chavez made his remarks at a news conference following the funeral procession for Juan de la Cruz, a founding union member who was shot down on a picket line here last week. More than 5,000 farm workers marched in the funeral procession. This was the second burial of a slain farm worker this week. On Aug. 17, more than 7,500 marched in the funeral for Nagi Daifullah.

During the discussion with reporters, Chavez said George Meany, AFL-CIO president, had

told him the day before that Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons had pledged he would notify the growers that Teamster contracts stand repudiated.

Chavez branded Fitzsimmons's move as hypocritical. He pointed out that Fitzsimmons had announced as early as Aug. 10 that he was repudiating the contracts and that Fitzsimmons's letter to the Delano growers simply repeated that the contracts would not be enforced.

However, Chavez said, the contracts still maintain full legal force. Nothing less than the legal dissolution of the contracts would be con-

sidered meaningful, he declared.

He recalled that the Teamsters officials had signed sweetheart contracts with lettuce growers in 1970 and then "repudiated" them. But, he pointed out, the hard fact is that the contracts not only remained in force but were renewed just a few months ago.

Chavez said the UFW intends to bring the growers to the bargaining table by intensifying the grape boycott and the boycott of A&P and Safeway. He predicted the present boycott would become even more effective than the one that forced the growers to terms in 1970.

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Spiraling cost of eating
- 4 Washington seeks deal with Sihanouk
- 5 VVAW case exposed as frame-up
- 6 Agnew caught with arm in pie
- 7 Nixon's 'counteroffensive' a flop
- 9 Houston teachers strike for living wage
- 12 Haitian refugees fight for asylum
- 13 SWP holds 25th nat'l convention
- 14 Convention focuses on international questions
- 15 Socialists map plans for expansion
- 16 Black feminists form national organization
- 17 The Guardian: Debate on China
- 18 The 'Prague Spring' — Interview with Jiri Pelikan
- 21 Militant protests hit 3 Detroit auto plants
- 24 Angry Black workers close Chrysler plant

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 By Any Means Necessary National Picket line

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Pompidou forced to free Krivine
- 2 Workers control in French watch factory
- 4 Israeli skyjack fails to capture Palestinian leaders

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 31
AUGUST 31, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—AUGUST 22, 1973

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: England and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

GRAND JURY HEARS CASE OF NCLC GOONS: Steven Getzoff and George Turner, two National Caucus of Labor Committee members identified as among those who have attacked members of the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, appeared for preliminary court hearings Aug. 2 in New York.

The felony case against Getzoff was referred to a grand jury, which heard testimony Aug. 13 from three members of the SWP. The grand jury's action has not yet been announced. Getzoff is charged with taking part in a June 9 clubbing attack on the three SWP members that left Jesse Smith hospitalized with head injuries and a fractured arm.

The case of George Turner, arrested June 11 for an assault on two supporters of the Communist Party, was bound over for trial. Getzoff was also arrested in this attack, but charges against him were dismissed when the victims did not appear to testify.

SAN FRANCISCO TO VOTE ON CHILDCARE: Child and Parent Action (CAPA) of San Francisco has filed 15,000 signatures on petitions at City Hall to place a child-care initiative on the ballot in the November elections. Twelve thousand six hundred signatures are required.

CAPA is a coalition of community groups, parents, teachers, trade unionists, and students who have joined together to place the child-care initiative before the voters.

The initiative states: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that low cost, quality child care be made available to all San Francisco children. Child care shall include infant care, pre-school and after school programs. Policy shall be made by the parents and faculties at each center. Funding shall be procured by the City and County of San Francisco."

WOMEN TO CELEBRATE AUG. 26: Aug. 26 is the fifty-third anniversary of the winning of women's suffrage. On Saturday, August 25, activities will be held around the country to focus public attention on women's liberation demands.

In New York, a rally and women's festival will be held in Battery Park from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. The day's activities are sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW), Women's Political Caucus, New York University Women's Liberation, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), Feminist Party, and other women's organizations. Speakers at the rally will include Wilma Scott Heide, president of NOW; Susan LaMont, national coordinator of WONAAC; and Brenda Feigen-Fasteau of the American Civil Liberties Union.

At President's Park in Washington, D.C., an all-day festival will feature displays, booths, and speakers.

A Women's Day demonstration in St. Louis will call for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), as will rallies in Bloomington, Ind., and Atlanta.

Passage of the ERA, child care, equal pay, and implementation of the Supreme Court ruling on abortion are some of the central issues the Aug. 25 activities will focus on.

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

IRS DISBANDS WITCH-HUNTING DIVISION: The climate created by the Watergate scandals is forcing the government to retreat from its campaign of harassment against radical organizations. It has now been announced that the "special services staff" of the Internal Revenue Service will be disbanded. This division of the IRS was set up in 1969 to investigate "extremist" groups. Its purpose, according to the IRS, was to investigate the financial resources of political organizations and "check the income-tax status of the organizations and their principals."

In announcing the decision, Commissioner Donald Alexander said that the division will continue to investigate tax-resistance organizations and "tax rebels, but," Alexander admitted, "political or social views, 'extremist' or otherwise, are irrelevant to taxation."

CAMP ALLEN DEFENDANT WINS PARTIAL VICTORY: The court-martial of A.Q. Johnson on charges stemming from a rebellion at the Camp Allen brig in Norfolk, Va., last November, ended in a partial victory this month.

Johnson had been singled out as the "ringleader" of the rebellion, during which Black prisoners, reacting to racist harassment, took over a dormitory, a cell-block

area, and the Control Office. Twelve of the Camp Allen defendants have been convicted on a variety of charges as a result of the incident.

Johnson faced eight charges carrying a possible sentence of 100 years. The most serious charge was soliciting to mutiny, a clear attempt to hold him personally responsible for the rebellion. Johnson was found not guilty on this charge but was convicted on several minor counts. He has been sentenced to 18 months at hard labor, loss of pay, and a bad-conduct discharge.

FORT WORTH FIVE OUT ON BAIL: The five Irish New Yorkers who have been imprisoned in Texas since Jan. 29 have finally won their long battle to be released on bail.

The Fort Worth Five were imprisoned on contempt charges for refusing to answer a federal grand jury's questions. The grand jury investigation attempted to link them to the illegal purchase of guns for alleged shipment to Ireland.

Paul O'Dwyer, a lawyer for the Fort Worth Five, said that Watergate may have helped his clients "because it disclosed what kinds of things the government has been doing."

PICKETS PROTEST HARASSMENT OF IRISH ACTIVIST: More than 100 Irish Northern Aid members and supporters rallied in Philadelphia Aug. 19 to protest the continued detention of Daniel Cahalane. Cahalane, a member of Irish Northern Aid, is being held for refusing to answer the questions of a federal grand jury in Philadelphia. He and three other leaders of the Philadelphia Irish community, Colm Friel, Dan Duffy, and Neil Byrne, were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury investigating arms shipments to Northern Ireland.

The demonstrators carried picket signs saying "U.S. Justice Department stop doing Britain's dirty work. Release Dan Cahalane" and "Don't make Ireland another Watergate. You bug Dan Cahalane, now we bug you until he is released."

Cahalane is now being held without bail, a ruling that is being appealed. Letters of protest can be sent to the U.S. Attorney, Ninth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

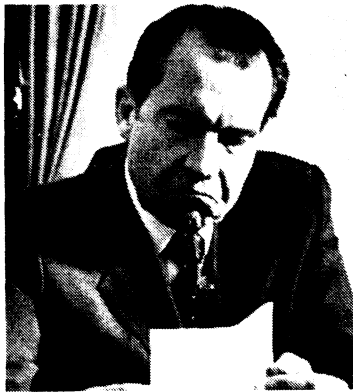
N.Y. SWP MAYORAL CANDIDATE FILES PETITIONS: Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, has filed 26,128 signatures of registered voters on SWP independent nominating petitions. The law requires 7,500 signatures for mayoral candidates.

Oliver filed the signatures Aug. 21 on behalf of himself and eight other SWP nominees, whose candidacies require a smaller number of signatures. These include Maxine Williams, Mark Friedman, and James Mendieta, candidates for borough-wide races in Brooklyn; B.R. Washington and Richard Ariza, candidates for borough-wide races in Manhattan; and Eva Chertov, candidate in the District 3 city council race.

The SWP also filed signatures in Nassau County on Aug. 21 for Frank Manning, who is running for Nassau County executive.

—MIRTA VIDAL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



WATERGATE: Nixon's few remaining friends still insist he's innocent. But the majority of the American people know he's guilty. Read The Militant for weekly socialist analysis of the Watergate scandal.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
- () \$2 for three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- () \$5 for one year of *The Militant*
- () New () Renewal

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

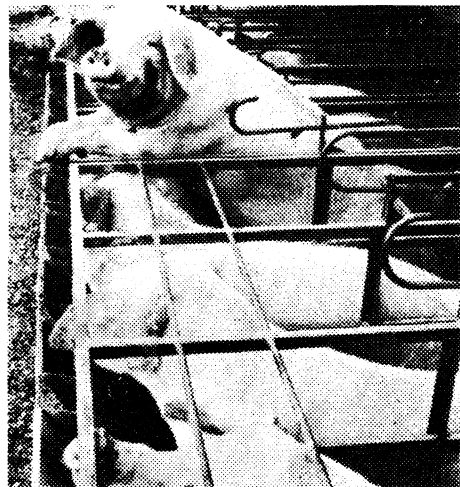
Meat companies raking it in

Cost of eating spirals at fastest rate ever

By DICK ROBERTS

NEW YORK — The meat monopolies are putting Americans through a wringer with the sharpest climb of food prices ever recorded. The steepest rises are in protein substitutes for beef, which is being held off market shelves by the meat trusts. In New York in the first week of August, food prices soared 3.9 percent in that week alone. At an annual rate that works out to 203 percent!

In that one week prices for chicken zoomed up 24 percent. Chicken prices have climbed 49 percent since President Nixon ended food price ceilings except for beef July 18. Bacon climbed from \$1.43 a pound to \$1.77, up 23 percent in the same period; pork chops



Bacon: up 23 percent

rose from \$1.67 a pound to \$2.06, up 23 percent; and eggs, from 81 cents a dozen to \$1.04, up 28 percent.

Beef monopolies are at the center of the meat price squeeze. They don't deny it either; they boast about it.

Last March, as meat prices across the country were soaring, the White House finally imposed a supposed ceiling on meat prices. And when the President announced "Phase 4," lifting the ceiling on most food prices, he declared that the ceiling on beef would remain in effect until Sept. 12. Since the beef companies know they will be able to raise prices then, they have simply withheld their stocks.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported July 26, "Starting Monday, beef-packing plants across the nation will be closing

down, industry sources said. The only move that could halt the impending wave of closings, they added, is an immediate removal of the ceiling on beef prices. . . ."

Having made their threats, the meat monopolists are sticking to them—they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. By Aug. 16, 170 meat plants had been closed around the country and 728 were on reduced operations. There are 11,157 employees currently laid off.

Feedlot operators—who in "normal" times fatten cattle on a diet of wood pulp and groundup newspapers—were reported by *Business Week* Aug. 11 to be "putting cattle on holding rations," while they wait for the prices to rise. What kind of feed this amounts to is anyone's guess.

The same issue of *Business Week* also reported the profits of major U.S. corporations for the second quarter of 1973—April to June. "The profits boom rolls on," *Business Week* declared. It reported "second-quarter after-tax earnings at better than a \$70-billion seasonally adjusted annual rate—up more than 30% from the \$53.4-billion rate of the second quarter of 1972."

Thus the profit rise for all U.S. industry was 30 percent, at a time when workers' real wages are being undercut by spiraling prices. How did the beef monopolists fare in this profit bonanza? Iowa Beef Processors, the largest meat-packing firm, chalked up a whopping 120 percent profit increase; the profit increase for Missouri Beef Packers, the second biggest firm, was 415 percent. That's right, 415 percent.

Food shortages

As despicable as the fantastic profit gouge of the meat monopolies is, it is only one aspect of the inflation of food prices, which is an international problem and one that threatens to get much worse before it gets better.

A worldwide shortage of food lies behind the shortage of food in the United States and the sharp upward momentum of U.S. food prices. Foreign inflation coupled with the devaluation of the dollar has made U.S. food goods cheaper to foreign purchasers, even though they are selling at higher prices abroad than here. The result is

a massive and increasing export of U.S. farm products that decreases the supply here and all the more allows the U.S. monopolists to jack up their prices. This begins with grain itself.

Wall Street Journal staff reporters Norman Fischer and Gene Meyer wrote from Chicago early this month that "accelerating exports are threatening to clean out U.S. grain bins, portending short supplies and even higher food prices for months to come."

The *Wall Street Journal* reporters cited an official of a Kansas City milling company who declared, "We're actually on the verge of a panic."

Since Phase 4 was announced July 18, the price of wheat in Chicago has climbed more than 40 percent. Corn and soybeans, the basic feed crops for cattle, hogs, and poultry, are also shooting up rapidly. Chicago corn prices rose 27 percent in the last month. These feed price increases will be passed on to consumers in the next months and years. Food shoppers face a virtual catastrophe in the supermarkets in the months ahead.

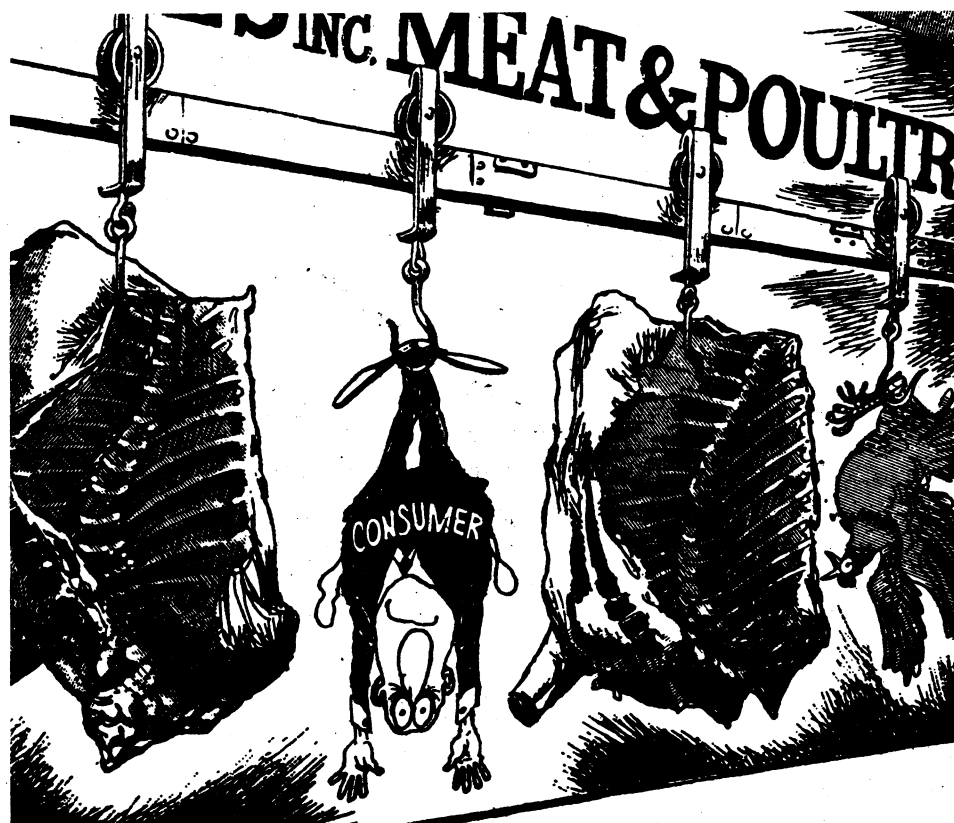
And there is no relief coming from the Nixon administration. Nixon's top advisers have claimed that they are incapable of doing anything about it.

Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, told the American Bar Association recently, "we are going to be continuously confronted with choices between higher prices and shortages." He added, "this is going to lead to hard—and many people will say bad—decisions."

In other words, Stein urges surrender to the food-price blackmail. If the monopolists hold back food to break the back of the government controls, give up the controls. A cynical comment going around Washington is, "the only answer to higher food prices is . . . higher food prices."

There are other answers, but they don't lie in the direction of the bankrupt policies of the federal government.

Wages should be tied to prices through escalator clauses that automatically raise wages when prices go up. Union and consumer price-watch committees should be set up to monitor prices, and provide week-to-week reports on actual increases in the cost of living. The organized labor movement should take the lead in this struggle, which is becoming a dire emergency for millions of Americans.



PUSH, UAW back Chi. anti-inflation action

By DIANE RUPP

CHICAGO — A demonstration against Nixon's Phase 4 has been set here for Sept. 8 by the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice. Endorsers of the action so far include United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock; Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, a Black civil rights organization; the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and many other union officials and church, Black, and political groups.

Robert Johnson, director of UAW Region 4, hailed the demonstration as the "organizational beginning of what I hope will be a broad national movement seeking effective federal and state legislative action on the problems of the unemployed, the underemployed, the overtaxed and the overpriced."

In a letter sent to UAW locals in the Illinois-Iowa Region 4 area, Johnson urged support for the demonstration. "The date of the march and meeting—September 8—is less than a week away from the expiration date—September 14—of our UAW contracts in Auto," he stated.

"The retaining and improving of our cost-of-living wage clause is an impor-

tant issue in the negotiations," he continued, "and it dramatizes one of the main thrusts of the September 8th demonstration—namely, the ruinous inflation and high prices resulting from an economy of scarcity that is being



Militant/John Hawkins

JACKSON: Supports Sept. 8 demonstration.

manipulated for the benefit of the rich."

The Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice has announced that the march will assemble at State and Wacker streets at 11 a.m. From there it will proceed down State Street to a rally at the Grant Park Bandshell. Woodcock, Jackson, and Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), are slated to speak at the rally.

Sixty-seven unions and union representatives have already endorsed the demonstration. These include Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; John Coleman, president of the Building Service Workers Union; and Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers.

The demonstration has also been endorsed by the Chicago Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

About 100 people attended an Aug. 16 meeting of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice. Coalition director Reverend Willie Barrows pointed

out that Nixon has already admitted his fear of demonstrations by Black and student protesters. Barrows said the strategy of the coalition must now be to involve others—workers, old people, everyone—because "the crisis is here."

To implement this strategy, the meeting divided into workshops to make concrete plans for involving Chicago trade unions, high school and campus students, Black organizations, homes for the elderly, and civic groups.

Participants in the meeting included representatives of the Chicago Teachers Union, the United Transportation Union, American Federation of Government Employees, AFSCME, Steelworkers for Change, Chicago Peace Action Coalition, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Student Mobilization Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and various church and Black organizations.

For more information or to volunteer to help build the Sept. 8 march and rally, call the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice at (312) 373-3550.

Washington seeks deal with Sihanouk

By DICK ROBERTS

Everything is in place for a full-scale resumption of U. S. bombing in Cambodia. In Washington, D. C., Um Sim, the ambassador to the United States of the crumbling Lon Nol regime, has appealed to the "moral obligation" of Washington not to betray "a small country which has cast its fate with you."

Phnompenh was encouraged to take this step by President Nixon's bellicose address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Orleans, Aug. 20. Nixon attacked the compromise with Congress that he agreed to six weeks ago to halt the U. S. bombing of Cambodia Aug. 15. He said "this congressional act undermines the prospect of world peace by raising doubts in the minds of both friends and adversaries concerning the resolve and capacity of the United States to stand by international agreements when they are violated by other parties."

Meanwhile, the Pentagon has announced that the Saigon regime could "legally" use U. S. military equipment to invade Cambodia to attack North Vietnamese "sanctuaries." Washington maintains that there are 43,000 North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia.

While the bombing of Cambodia is temporarily suspended, about 400 U. S. fighter-bombers and 175 B-52s remain on call in Thailand, in Guam, and aboard aircraft carriers in the region. President Nixon has said he will take "appropriate action" if the situation warrants it.

But Nixon's hands are tied. In the face of the overwhelming American

Sino-Soviet affairs, Joseph Harsch, wrote Aug. 21, "A reneutralization under Prince Sihanouk is preferred in Washington. . . ." Harsch believes that the alternative to Sihanouk is conquest of Cambodia by Hanoi.

But Sihanouk is not biting so far. In an interview in Peking Aug. 21, he attacked President Nixon for charging that he had approved of the secret 1969 bombing of Cambodia. *New York Times* correspondent John Burns reported the Sihanouk interview: "It is futile for Americans and others to appeal for a negotiated settlement that would place him at the head of a coalition government, because such a solution is advanced only as a means of perpetuating America's neocolonialism [Sihanouk] said."

"Besides, he went on, he is powerless to prevent a Communist triumph, even if he wanted to, which he does not."

"The Communists would provide Cambodia with an independent, neutralist government free from corruption, something even he had been unable to accomplish in his years in power, the Prince said."

According to *Times* reporter Burns, "Prince Sihanouk also said that ammunition shortages and fear of renewed American intervention had persuaded the Communists in Cambodia to put off any attempt to take Phnom Penh until the beginning of the dry season in December at the earliest."

President Nixon kept up the deadly bombing of Cambodia until the last moment. By Aug. 15 there had been 160 consecutive days of intensive B-



'Thanks a lot'

Wright—Miami Daily News

disgust with the White House and its Watergate band of hoodlums, the president is unwilling to confront Congress on the Cambodia issue.

In these circumstances, Washington appears to be seeking a compromise with the former ruler of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk. *U. S. News & World Report*, a magazine that often reflects the Pentagon's viewpoint, declared in its Aug. 27 issue that the "general feeling [in Phnompenh] was that one of two things would happen: Either the Government would crumple through military defeat, or negotiations with the insurgents would produce a new regime, perhaps one headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted in a coup that led to the outbreak of war in 1970."

Christian Science Monitor expert on

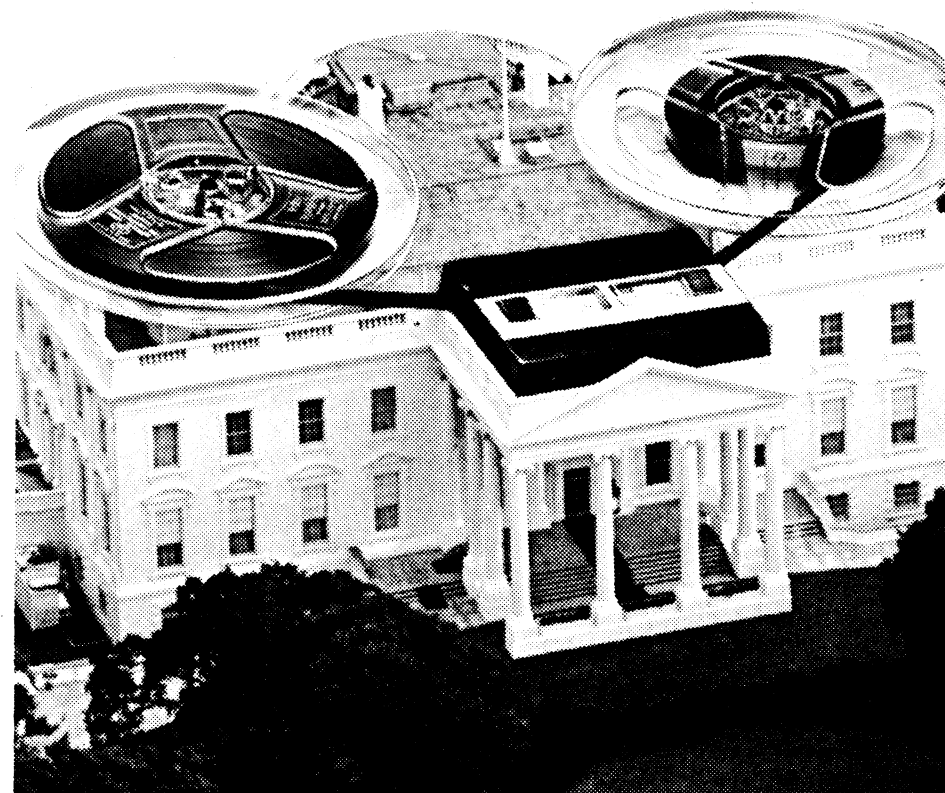
52 bombing. In four-and-a-half years the United States dropped more than 240,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia alone, 50 percent more than the conventional explosives dropped on Japan in World War II.

But this holocaust of destruction utterly failed to crush the revolutionary tide. The civil war continues with the Lon Nol regime controlling only Phnompenh and a few other cities. The rebels control some 85 percent of the rest of the country.

The demand of those who defend the right of the Cambodians and the other peoples of Indochina to determine their own destiny must remain what it has been from the outset: total and immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces and military support from Southeast Asia.

WATERGATE: 'Executive privilege'

Behind debate on Nixon W'gate tapes



By ANDY ROSE

Oral argument was heard this week in U. S. District Court in Washington, D. C., on whether Richard Nixon must turn over tapes of his conversations with former White House aides to Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox.

The tapes could prove that Nixon is guilty in the Watergate break-in and cover-up. Nixon, while insisting they would show nothing of the sort, claims he cannot release the tapes because the "principle of confidentiality of presidential conversations is at stake."

Supposedly a challenge to this "principle" could provoke a "constitutional crisis." Nixon's legal brief asserts that the "issue here is starkly simple: Will the Presidency be allowed to continue to function?"

Whichever way Judge John Sirica decides, the case will eventually be heard by the U. S. Supreme Court, perhaps in several months. A separate legal test may result from a suit by the Senate Watergate committee, headed by Sam Ervin, also demanding access to the tapes.

Nixon's defense of "executive privilege" based on "national security" has focused attention on the government's growing tendency to cloak its activities in secrecy. Anthony Lewis, in his column in the Aug. 20 *New York Times*, writes that of all the occasions in American history when executive privilege has been invoked to refuse information to Congress, two-thirds have come in the last 20 years, and one-third have come during Nixon's presidency.

Power is increasingly centralized in the White House staff, hidden from public view. "What was once a modest private office has become, under Mr. Nixon, an establishment of more than 2,000 persons," Lewis notes.

The government needs secrecy because it is the instrument for the rule of a tiny power elite, the moguls of finance and industry. It must try to hide information that exposes whose interests it serves and the gangster methods it uses to safeguard corporate profits around the world. Nixon's rhetoric about national security and executive privilege really mean that capitalist security and capitalist privilege are his highest principles.

Recent Watergate fallout includes more evidence of how giant corporations like ITT and the dairy trust bought favorable government rulings with contributions to Nixon's campaign.

Anthony Lewis points out some pre-Watergate uses of executive privilege. He mentions General Maxwell Taylor's refusal to testify about the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion staged by the Kennedy administration to overthrow the Cuban revolution, and former Treasury Secretary John Connally's refusal to discuss the Nixon administration's \$200-million loan to Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Nixon himself tried to cover up the CIA-ITT conspiracy against the Allende government in Chile.

He tried to keep hidden the Pentagon papers, which exposed years of lies by Democratic and Republican administrations alike about the motives and methods of the Vietnam war. The government made every effort to prevent the people from learning about its secret bombing raids on Cambodia and North Vietnam, about massacres like My Lai, and about the deliberate bombing of dikes and hospitals.

When public opposition to the war reached a peak in the May 1970 anti-war upsurge, the government drew up a secret plan for police-state operations against radicals and antiwar forces.

It concealed a nationwide campaign of infiltration and murderous police assaults against the Black movement.

Neither Senator Ervin nor prosecutor Cox questions the fundamental "right" of the capitalist government to function this way. But they differ with Nixon on how blatantly such tactics can be used and whether to use them against other sectors of the ruling class. And they are searching for a way to restore public confidence in the government, so badly shaken by the Watergate revelations.

They are not anxious to set precedents for forcing public disclosure of government operations, as shown by the Senate committee's often-repeated proposals for compromise, such as reviewing the tapes in a special closed meeting.

The senators' current posture of defending constitutional liberties is just as fraudulent as Nixon's appeal to constitutional "separation of powers." Both have the interests of capitalist minority rule at heart.

The interests of the majority of Americans would best be served by full public disclosure of the Watergate tapes and all the rest of the government's secret deals and undercover activities as well.

Informers on stand, FBI in closet

Case against VVAW exposed as frame-up

By PETER SEIDMAN

AUG. 21 — The government has been trying to use its sensational charge that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) plotted an assassination assault by automatic weapons, cross-bows, and slingshots on the 1972 Republican Party convention to justify many of its Watergate crimes against the antiwar and radical movements.

Seven VVAW members and one supporter, known as the Gainesville Eight, are now on trial for these alleged crimes. The Nixon administration has been attempting to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere against the defendants. Twenty-five special federal marshals have been brought into Gainesville, supposedly to ensure order.

Federal district court Judge Winston Arnow has imposed a gag-rule barring only the defendants from talking to the press about their views on the case. The sweeping order also includes the defendants' lawyers and "anyone acting in concert with the defendants" as well.

One security measure taken by the government in an attempt to smear the defendants with the brush of violence backfired on the first day of the trial. A special metal detecting device installed to screen all those entering the courtroom was triggered by three of the defendants, Scott Camil, Alton Foss, and John Kniffen. Even when the three removed their belts and shoes, the electronic metal detectors still signaled danger because the machines had been set off by shrapnel remaining in their bodies from Vietnam wounds.

"It has been our witness as Veterans that has helped expose the lies of the Nixon Administration about the war in Indochina," VVAW coordinator John Musgrave told reporters earlier this month. "In truth we are living, walking, talking Pentagon papers."

The government's case against the vets is being organized by Guy Goodwin. Goodwin is in charge of the spe-



FBI agents Carl Ekblad (left) and Robert Romann rush past photographers after being caught red-handed in illegal attempt to bug meeting of Gainesville Eight and their attorneys.

cial legal harassment operation in the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. His frame-up machine is part of the Nixon administration's secret effort "to get" its radical opponents. His stock-in-trade is the use of government informers and provocateurs.

The four major witnesses in the Gainesville Eight case so far, for example, have all been government informers. Leading this pack has been "star" witness William Lemmer. Lemmer served at one time as the Arkansas state coordinator of the VVAW. He is a former paratrooper and Green Beret who has a history of mental instability.

Lemmer sometimes carried a bull whip and wore a red cape and high laced boots. Although he has denied under examination at the trial that he has ever experienced mental problems, Lemmer did admit, when shown his Army medical records, that he recalled "everything except the amnesia or loss of memory."

Today, the fourth informer, Emerson

Poe, took the stand. Poe not only betrayed the confidence of defendant Scott Camil, who had considered him a close friend, but also kept the government informed of what went on in meetings between defendants and their lawyers in an earlier stage of the case. Such meetings are regarded as confidential. The revelation that Poe was present at the meetings as an agent directly gave the lie to sworn statements by the prosecution that no agents or informers were present in these sessions.

Despite this outrageous violation of the privileged relationship between attorney and client, a privilege even President Nixon invoked in his Aug. 15 TV Watergate speech, Judge Arnow has denied defense motions to either dismiss the charges against the defendants or bar Poe's testimony because of government penetration of the defense camp.

The Gainesville trial is the latest of Goodwin's attempted frame-ups stemming from at least 100 investigations in 36 states that have led to more than

400 indictments. However, only about one-tenth of these indictments have led to convictions, and many of these have been on lesser charges.

The government, perhaps not fully trusting the credibility of its own witnesses, has also resorted to widespread wiretapping at the trial, presumably in an effort to find more damaging evidence than it already has.

At the end of July the defense caught two FBI agents red-handed, holding a suitcase full of wiretapping equipment in a broom closet adjacent to a room where the defense was having a meeting.

Further, five members of the jury have sent Judge Arnow a letter saying, "Perhaps the jury has become paranoid [One could hardly blame it after seeing how many government informers were brought forth as witnesses in the trial!]. But three-fourths of our home telephone numbers have been acting strangely."

Arnow told the defense it was making a "mountain out of a molehill" and assured the jury that their phones were not being tapped.

The defendants telegraphed Sam Ervin, asking his Senate Watergate Committee to probe these illegal wiretaps because "the executive and judicial branches of our government appear incapable of offering any immediate relief from such abuses of justice." However, as of yet, the defense has received no reply from the Ervin committee.

Support did come, however, on Aug. 4, when approximately 1,000 people, including several hundred veterans, demonstrated for the defendants in Gainesville. Among the speakers at the demonstration were Pentagon papers trial defendant Anthony Russo, antiwar activist Tom Hayden, and Pete Seeger.

Contributions to help the defense, or inquiries about it, can be sent to: Gainesville Eight Defense Committee, P. O. Box 14078, Gainesville, Fla. 32604.

Role of undercover agent probed

Justice Dept. reopens Kent State inquiry

The Justice Department announced early this month that it was reopening its investigation of the Kent State University massacre. On May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on Kent State students who were demonstrating against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. The Guardsmen killed four students and wounded nine others. These shootings touched off the largest student strike in the history of the U.S.

The Justice Department decision was an admission that previous government pronouncements whitewashing the National Guard and other government agencies at Kent State are now "inoperative." Until now government policy has been to blame the student demonstrators for provoking the violence. It has been revealed, for example, that the Justice Department kept evidence critical of the National Guard away from an Ohio grand jury. The grand jury exonerated the National Guard but indicted 25 stu-

dents on riot charges.

The reopening of the investigation is a victory for the antiwar and student movements, which have long demanded this action. It is the Watergate revelations that have placed the government on the defensive and helped make possible victories like these.

The new Justice Department decision, for example, comes after the uncovering of new evidence showing that the Kent State shootings were sparked by the actions of a government provocateur.

The provocateur, Terrance B. Norman, was on the Kent State campus as a photographer for the FBI. Norman is the only person known to have had a gun on the Kent State campus on May 4, 1970, besides members of the National Guard. Witnesses have told reporters that Norman admitted firing his pistol, perhaps precipitating the volley of fire by National Guardsmen that result-



Kent State, May 4, 1970

ed in the murder of the four Kent State students.

Although the FBI has had full knowledge of Norman's presence on the campus during the massacre, news of his role was kept secret until the confirmation hearings for newly appointed FBI director Clarence Kelley.

It was only following the FBI's acknowledgment of Norman's role that the Justice Department decided to reopen the case. Undoubtedly this decision was influenced by administration fears that news of the cover-up, which had begun to leak out in the wake of the Watergate investigations, would further undermine the credibility of the government and focus additional attention on widespread government use of agents provocateurs.

Two days before the Justice Department announcement, the *Christian Science Monitor* gave the following account of Norman's activities the day

Continued on page 22

What was that about law and order?

Agnew caught with whole arm in pie

By LINDA JENNESS

"Agnew's biggest asset," said one GOP strategist, "has been the fact that he was Mr. Clean in this administration. Now Mr. Clean is being investigated by a federal grand jury."

At a news conference Aug. 6 Vice-president Spiro T. Agnew, who had thus far escaped involvement in the Watergate scandal, told the country that he was under investigation for bribery, extortion, tax fraud, and conspiracy.

The investigation, which started last January, at first probed reports of kickbacks by contractors to current officeholders in Baltimore County, Md. In recent months, the investigation broadened to include state contracts awarded during Agnew's two years as governor, as well as contracts awarded in Maryland since he became vice-president. Agnew says he first learned of the investigations through "rumors in the cocktail circuit."

Some of the items turned up so far in records subpoenaed by federal investigators include the following:

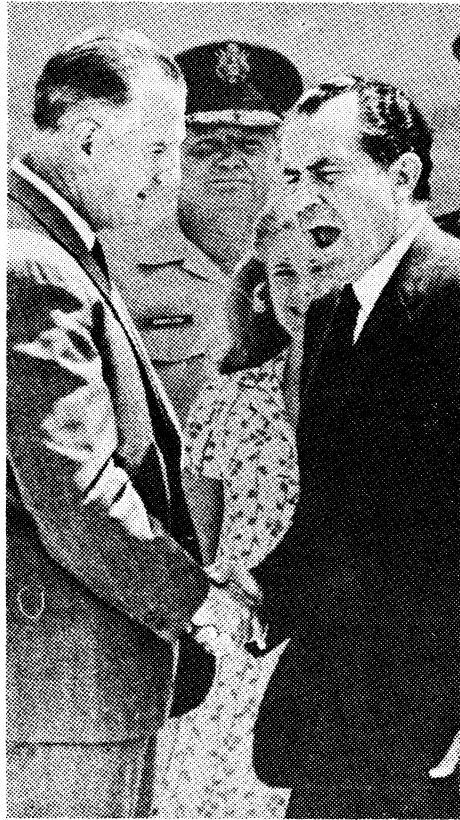
- Nine Maryland consulting engineering companies contributed \$18,250 to Agnew during his 1966 campaign for governor of Maryland.

- A special fund established for the 1966 Agnew campaign that was put up by a group of wealthy Republicans and Democrats. This fund was called the "Executive Assembly," and donors paid \$1,000 each to defray his "personal 'political' expenses."

- Financial funny business relating to the "Salute to Ted Agnew Dinner" held in Baltimore in 1972. Two different sets of records were kept. Both show that more than \$170,000 was raised, but one set failed to note that \$49,900 of that came from the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

- In 1966 Agnew took in \$63,550 from "sale of tickets to a bull roast." Seven weeks later an additional \$9,625 was turned in from the "bull roast."

- \$38,562 from a \$50-a-plate "testimonial dinner" was reported about a month after Agnew took office in 1966.



Agnew revelations have struck another blow at credibility and authority of government.

Four of the consulting engineering companies under investigation bought \$35,000 worth of tickets.

More than 20 Maryland contractors and businessmen have told federal prosecutors that they funneled cash payments to Agnew associates in return for state contracts. At least three of them have said they turned the money over to Agnew personally. One contractor says he gave Agnew a lump sum of \$50,000 after Agnew became vice-president.

One thing is obvious—the vice-president's lifestyle isn't hurting. Agnew's assets have increased by \$112,000 in the last seven years, and that doesn't include a new \$190,000 home. His reported assets are up a whopping 76 percent from four years ago.

One of the main figures under investigation in Maryland is Jerome Wolff, a former Maryland state roads com-

missioner, a former member of Agnew's vice-presidential staff, and now president of Greiner Environmental Systems, Inc. Another is Lester Matz, a partner in Matz, Childs and Associates. Wolff and Matz, both cronies of Agnew, have negotiated for immunity from prosecution in return for information on Agnew.

Agnew has labeled the accusations as "damned lies" and "false and scurrilous and malicious" rumors. He claims he has "absolutely nothing to hide."

At the same time, the vice-president is not denying that bribery and extortion exist in state and federal politics. He told reporters that "anyone that's been around the political scene in the United States who would expect that campaign contributions don't come from contractors doing business with the State and Federal Government is quite naive." However, "Mr. Clean" claims that these contributions are made in return for the right of contractors to "consult with" and have "access" to officeholders.

Nixon has been less than anxious to defend the vice-president. The only statement released to the press was a meek assurance from White House deputy press secretary Gerald Warren that there was "no reason for the President to change his attitude of confidence toward the Vice President." And Melvin Laird, Nixon's domestic adviser, has called leading Republicans to warn them against "making hasty public statements" in defense of Agnew.

It was more from necessity than gallantry, then, that Agnew told the press, "I think the Vice President of the United States should stand on his own feet. It really isn't that important what a President says. . . . So I'm not spending my time looking around to see who is supporting me. I'm defending myself."

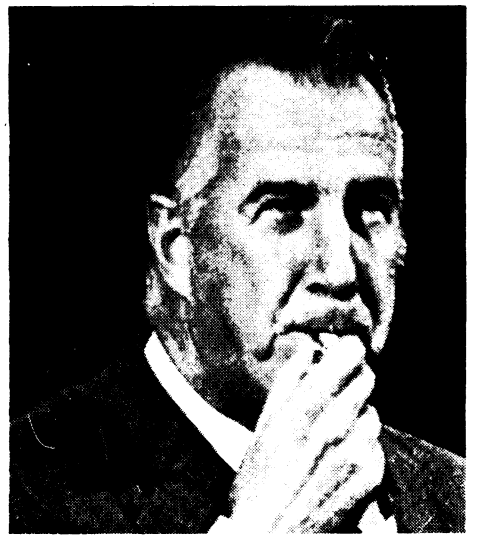
Time magazine predicts that the indictment of Agnew "appears inevitable." It quotes a Justice Department official as saying that "the evidence is so strong that the case must be taken to trial."

Agnew, however, is leaving open a defense based on the contention that as vice-president he is immune from prosecution. He maintains that no grand jury has "any right to the records of the Vice President." He questions the "propriety of any grand-jury investigation of possible wrongdoing on the part of the Vice President so long as he occupies that office." This argument is an extension of the argument put forth by Nixon's lawyers that the president is above the law as long as he is president.

Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft summarized the situation this way: "So, despite the distances Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew are plainly taking from each other, the President's case is . . . inextricably mixed up with the case of the Vice President. Together they will sink or swim."

Another theory, however, is that Agnew might be forced to resign. Then, under the provisions of the 25th Amendment, Nixon would pick a successor to be approved by a majority in both houses of Congress.

"If a new Vice President were installed," writes *Time*, "Nixon himself would be under greater pressure to resign so that the country could put Watergate behind it. . . ."



Agnew blowing whistle at hecklers. Whistle is now being blown on him for bribery, fraud, extortion, and conspiracy.

Nixon gets summons in SWP W'gate suit

NEW YORK — A nationwide civil liberties defense campaign is now underway to build support for a law suit to stop government harassment of radical political organizations. The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing the drive.

The suit was filed in light of the recent Watergate revelations. The plaintiffs are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Named as defendants are Richard Nixon, John Mitchell, John Dean, H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and other officials and former officials of the U. S. government.

U. S. marshals began serving summonses and copies of the complaint on the defendants in mid-July, when the suit was filed. President Nixon was served on July 24, and all the defendants but one have now received the summonses. The attorney for the suit, Leonard Boudin, is waiting for all the defendants to answer their summonses before taking the next legal

steps in the case. Defendants who are currently government officials have 60 days to respond. Those who are former officials have 20 days.

The suit charges the government with 25 years of "illegal acts of black-listing, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism" against the SWP, its members, candidates, and supporters, and similar acts against the YSA.

The suit asks for a court injunction to stop all illegal government intimidation and harassment of the SWP and the YSA. It seeks to have the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations ruled unconstitutional. The SWP has been on this list since 1948. In addition, the plaintiffs ask for more than \$27-million in damages for the violations of constitutional rights suffered by the two groups and their members.

The PRDF expects the next stage of legal proceedings to begin in October. Federal Judge Thomas P. Gri-

esa has been assigned to hear the case.

Meanwhile, the PRDF is planning to intensify its support and publicity drive during the fall. Supporters of the PRDF have already held news conferences in eight cities across the country to publicize the suit.

The initial national news conference held in Leonard Boudin's law office in New York was covered by AP, UPI, and Reuters. In addition to widespread coverage in the U. S., news of the case has been carried by such papers as the *International Herald Tribune* and the *Wellington, New Zealand, Evening Post*.

The PRDF has initiated its drive to raise funds for legal expenses and to gather sponsors for the case with an appeal signed by Noam Chomsky, Ruth Gage-Colby, and attorney Vincent Hallinan.

Other initial sponsors include columnist Nat Hentoff, Nobel Prize winner George Wald, suffragist Florence Luscomb, and Carl and Anne Braden of

the Southern Conference Education Fund.

To take the issues of the case directly to groups and individuals across the country, the PRDF is sending out four national field secretaries on speaking and organizing tours. Mike Arnall, Janice Lynn, Cathy Perkus, and Syd Stapleton will be on tour during October and November.

In addition to appearing at news conferences and radio and TV interviews, the PRDF representatives will be speaking to campus meetings, before unions, and to Black and women's organizations and community groups seeking support for the case.

The PRDF is urgently in need of funds to help cover these initial legal and publicity expenses. If you can make a contribution, or want to arrange a meeting for a representative from the PRDF, write to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 737, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

Confidence in president hits 20-year low

Nixon 'counteroffensive' a flop

By PETER SEIDMAN

AUG. 22—At his first news conference since last March, a nervous, stammering President Nixon today failed to extricate himself and his administration from the Watergate hook on which they have been dangling.

The central question looming over the news conference was, can Nixon restore popular confidence in his ability to rule? One reporter asked the president point-blank, "Would you consider resigning if you thought your capacity to govern had been seriously weakened?"

Nixon conceded in his reply that media coverage of the scandal raised "some questions" with regard to his capacity to govern. But he arrogantly insisted he would not resign in any case. He cited what he referred to as "the mandate of the 1972 election" as justification for his remaining in office despite the fact that he presided over the Watergate crimes.

Nixon neglected to mention the fact that abundant evidence has made clear that his own reelection committee's multimillion dollar effort to rig that 1972 election may have affected the degree of his "mandate."

More importantly, a whole series of public opinion polls taken since the Watergate scandal broke show that the support Nixon enjoyed at the beginning of his second term has been reduced to the lowest margin enjoyed by any president in the last 20 years.

Nixon's counteroffensive

Nixon's press conference was part of his much-touted Watergate "counteroffensive." The counteroffensive supposedly began following the release of an Aug. 3-6 Gallup Poll that reported this 20-year-low in popularity.

The poll showed that only 31 percent of the people approve of the way Nixon is handling the presidency. This was a drop of nine percentage points in only four weeks, and 37 points since Nixon's inauguration to his second term. The Aug. 15 *New York Times* observed that, "According to the Gallup figures, Mr. Nixon is more unpopular today than President Johnson was at the height of public protests against the Vietnam war, protests that helped persuade Mr. Johnson not to seek another term."

Another poll released on Aug. 15 was conducted by Oliver Quayle for NBC-TV news. This poll showed that Democratic presidential candidate

George McGovern would receive 51 percent of the vote to 49 percent for Nixon if the 1972 election were held today.

Nixon's drive to restore faith in his administration was undoubtedly spurred further by a growing nervousness in the highest circles of the capitalist ruling class over his ability to best defend their interests.

'Old boy network'

New York Times correspondent John Herbers reported on Aug. 15, for example, "Outside the Government, men of great wealth and power, ranging from the Rockefellers of New York to the lawyer barons of Washington, who form a kind of 'old boy network' whenever the Republic is endangered, have been on the telephone asking one another one unanswered question: 'What is the state of mind of Richard M. Nixon?'"

And an Aug. 11 *Christian Science Monitor* survey of 168 senators and representatives (about one-third of Congress, including 63 Republicans) found that by 157 to 21, those polled believed Watergate will hurt Nixon's ability to govern in the next three years.

The first step in Nixon's counteroffensive was his Aug. 15 speech and statement. In this speech, Nixon explicitly refused to rebut the many specific charges of administration complicity in the Watergate crimes. He also repeated the theme that it was the example set by the civil rights and antiwar movements of violence and civil disobedience that created the climate in which what he called "the Watergate mentality" prospered.

This attempt to turn the victims of the government's Watergate crimes into the criminals backfired. In the words of journalist I. F. Stone, "It is a speech Checkers would have found irresistible."

A series of public opinion polls taken immediately following Nixon's address confirmed the failure of what the Aug. 20 *Christian Science Monitor* described as "a desperate effort to recapture the trust of the American people."

A Harris survey taken after Nixon's speech found that by 67-20 percent, the public felt that Nixon "did not give convincing proof that he was not part of the Watergate coverup."

Only 21 percent of the public gave Nixon's speech a rating of "excellent"



Nixon's inability to restore public confidence in the government has the capitalist rulers worried.

or "pretty good," as against 64 percent who judged it "only fair" or "poor."

In a special Gallup poll commissioned by the *New York Times* following the speech, about 44 percent found the speech "not at all" convincing, while only 27 percent concluded that it was "completely" or "quite a lot" convincing.

Like Jell-O

The *Wall Street Journal* also sent a team of reporters out to survey the popular response. In summarizing their results the reporters cited this observation made by a Montana stockbroker on Nixon's talk, "It's kind of like Jell-O," he said. "A little shaky and you can see right through it."

The second prong of Nixon's offensive, apparently calculated to build on the hoped-for success of the Aug. 15 speech, was his address to the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Orleans Aug. 20. Nixon's speech there avoided the subject of Watergate—presumably in an attempt to show that the president was turning to other "more important" issues. It was overshadowed, however, by spectacular headlines noting that Nixon's motorcade through New Orleans had to be canceled following the discovery of a "well-organized" assassination plot against him.

The sudden discovery of this "plot" struck many observers as suspicious. The Aug. 21 *New York Post* reported, for example, that, "In Washington, the official report of a possible conspiracy to kill Nixon created little excitement. A few reporters even regarded it cynically as an effort to create sympathy for the President, beleaguered by the Watergate scandal."

In summarizing the impact of Nixon's Watergate counteroffensive, the Aug. 22 *Wall Street Journal* observed that nothing done so far, "is any sort of an answer to the basic questions of Watergate, and we doubt that the President's strategy will truly succeed in defusing the scandal. The issue of the citizen's trust in government is too fundamental, and we doubt it can be resolved unless Mr. Nixon finally persuades most of the people that in the here and now he is essentially telling the truth about Watergate. This, in turn, may involve some sort of penance for the crimes committed in his name, some modern equivalent of Henry II having himself flogged after the murder of Becket."

But Nixon's arrogant performance at his Aug. 22 news conference, like the rest of his Watergate game plan, constitutes neither a convincing argument that he is telling the truth nor penance from the White House.

People 'fed up' with both capitalist parties

"Since 1958 experts at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research have been monitoring the faith Americans have in their political system," the Aug. 20 *New York Times* reports. Highly paid experts venture out and ask a cross section of the population such questions as "whether the Government in Washington is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or for the benefit of all the people."

The answers are plotted on graphs like the one shown here. The graph, which only goes up to the time the Watergate scandal began—and does not show the sub-

sequent plummeting of popular confidence in the government—indicates why the capitalist rulers are so upset about Watergate. They don't have too far to go before they hit the bottom of the charts.

The Michigan University scientists have already warned them, according to the *Times*, to beware of a "growing cynicism that may lead either to large-scale party realignment or to the rise of a new political party."

Another study, recently released by pollster Albert Sindlinger and published in the Aug. 16 *Los Angeles Times*, gives further evidence

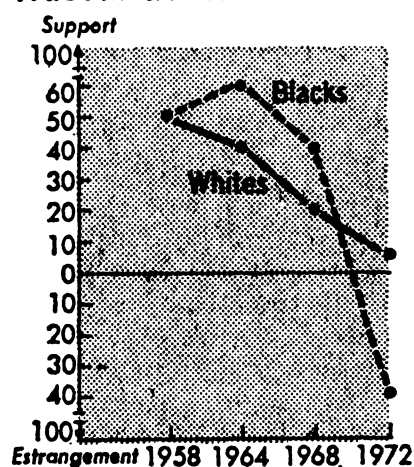
of the degree to which Watergate threatens the public's confidence in the two-party system.

The number of persons identifying themselves as Republicans dropped to 18 percent the week ending Aug. 3, and the number calling themselves Democrats dropped to 26 percent.

The *Los Angeles Times* reports, "Sindlinger said the Watergate backlash was hitting Democrats as hard as Republicans, as people across the country reported they were 'fed up' with politics and politicians."

"Both parties are now at an all-time low," Sindlinger said.

Trust in Government



Strikers firm despite financial strain

Farm workers urge: Extend the boycott!

By HARRY RING

DELANO, Calif. — The failure of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to continue financial support to the striking United Farm Workers is another big hurdle for the beleaguered union.

This spring, the Executive Council contributed \$1.6-million to the union strike fund. This enabled the UFW to significantly expand its ranks by offering strike benefits of \$75 a week instead of the previous \$25 a family.

Now, with the \$1.6-million almost used up, and no more forthcoming, the union has already been compelled to stop paying strike benefits in Fresno County. Benefits are continuing here in Delano, where strike efforts are now being concentrated. But these will soon have to be substantially reduced.

This will mean that many of the 3,000 strikers will be unable to stay on the picket lines. It is not likely that they will return to the struck vineyards, but most will have to move on to other areas to obtain work.

The \$1.6-million contribution was to cover a three-month period. At the time it was pledged, AFL-CIO representatives promised that the amount would be renewed. But when the Executive Council met early this month, it declared continuing support for the strike but failed to come up with the money.

In the initial stage of the strike in Coachella Valley, the expanded strike benefits made possible by the \$1.6-million greatly increased the effectiveness of the strike. While the growers were able to round up enough scabs to harvest most of the crop, the absence of experienced crews slowed down production and contributed significantly to an inferior crop.

DELANO, Calif., Aug. 22—The United Farm Workers today began organizing striking workers to fan out to cities across the country to promote the nationwide grape boycott. The union is aiming at having strikers spark boycott activities in 63 cities. It has decided to continue the suspension of picketing at struck ranches and to concentrate the union's resources on building the boycott.

A constitutional convention of the United Farm Workers Union, to which supporters are invited, will be held in Fresno Sept. 21-23. Building the boycott will be a central point of business at the convention.

Now, with the need to substantially curtail strike activity in the vineyards, the union is turning to the boycott as its principal weapon. The stepping up of the boycott was signaled here today as hundreds of strikers were dispatched to Los Angeles and San Francisco to spark the picketing of Safeway stores. Along with A&P, Safeway is the nation's largest buyer of scab grapes.

The failure of the AFL-CIO to respect its financial commitment came as AFL-CIO head George Meany pressed efforts to negotiate a settlement of the strike with Teamster union President Frank Fitzsimmons.

The Teamster bureaucrats have been working hand-in-glove with the power-

ful agribusiness outfit, the Farm Bureau, to destroy the UFW and deprive field workers of a union of their choice.

As hard-won contracts with the table-grape growers expired throughout the state, the Teamsters have been signing sweetheart "contracts" with the growers. These agreements contain only token wage increases and provide for reestablishing the highly exploitative labor-contractor system. The UFW contracts had replaced this hated employment system with a union hiring hall, which made jobs available on a seniority basis without regard to sex or age.

For some time Meany has been holding secret meetings with Fitzsimmons. Early this month they reported "genuine progress" in reaching a settlement. Neither of them has said what they considered a basis for a settlement.

Further negotiations were conducted between the Teamsters and AFL-CIO officials in San Francisco. On Aug. 10, for the first time, these meetings included UFW leader César Chávez.

These talks collapsed, however, when it was revealed that while the negotiations were going on, a Teamster official had secretly signed contracts with 25 of Delano's 29 table-grape growers.

Charging that the UFW had been "stabbed in the back," Chávez walked out and has so far refused to return.

Top officials of the Western Conference of Teamsters said it was all a big mistake. They announced the closing of their office in Delano and said they had fired Jim Smith, their paid staff member who negotiated the new sweetheart agreements.

UFW representatives say they are not surprised by the Teamster action. They see it as part of a consistent pattern of double cross. In 1971, an agreement was reached with the Teamsters after they had begun raiding the United Farm Workers jurisdiction in the lettuce fields. After the UFW called off the lettuce boycott, the Teamsters promptly signed sweetheart pacts with the growers.

UFW representatives are not ready to agree that the failure of the AFL-CIO board to render further financial aid is a pressure move for a settlement with the Teamsters.

One union activist said, "We didn't ask for any money, so we can't complain about not getting any."

Another one said, "We're a proud union. We don't like to be begging people. When you have people giving you money, they expect results, they expect you to follow their agenda."

Reverend John Bank, the union's director of information, said the UFW was ready to renew its signed commitment not to organize workers in canneries and food processing, where the Teamsters have jurisdiction, but that was all.

"If I have any personal feeling on it," Bank said, "it's that the Teamsters have to get out of all farm labor. And we're not going to compromise on that."

He recalled that it took a five-year struggle before the UFW won its first contracts in the vineyards, and he emphasized that, if necessary, they're ready for another five-year fight.

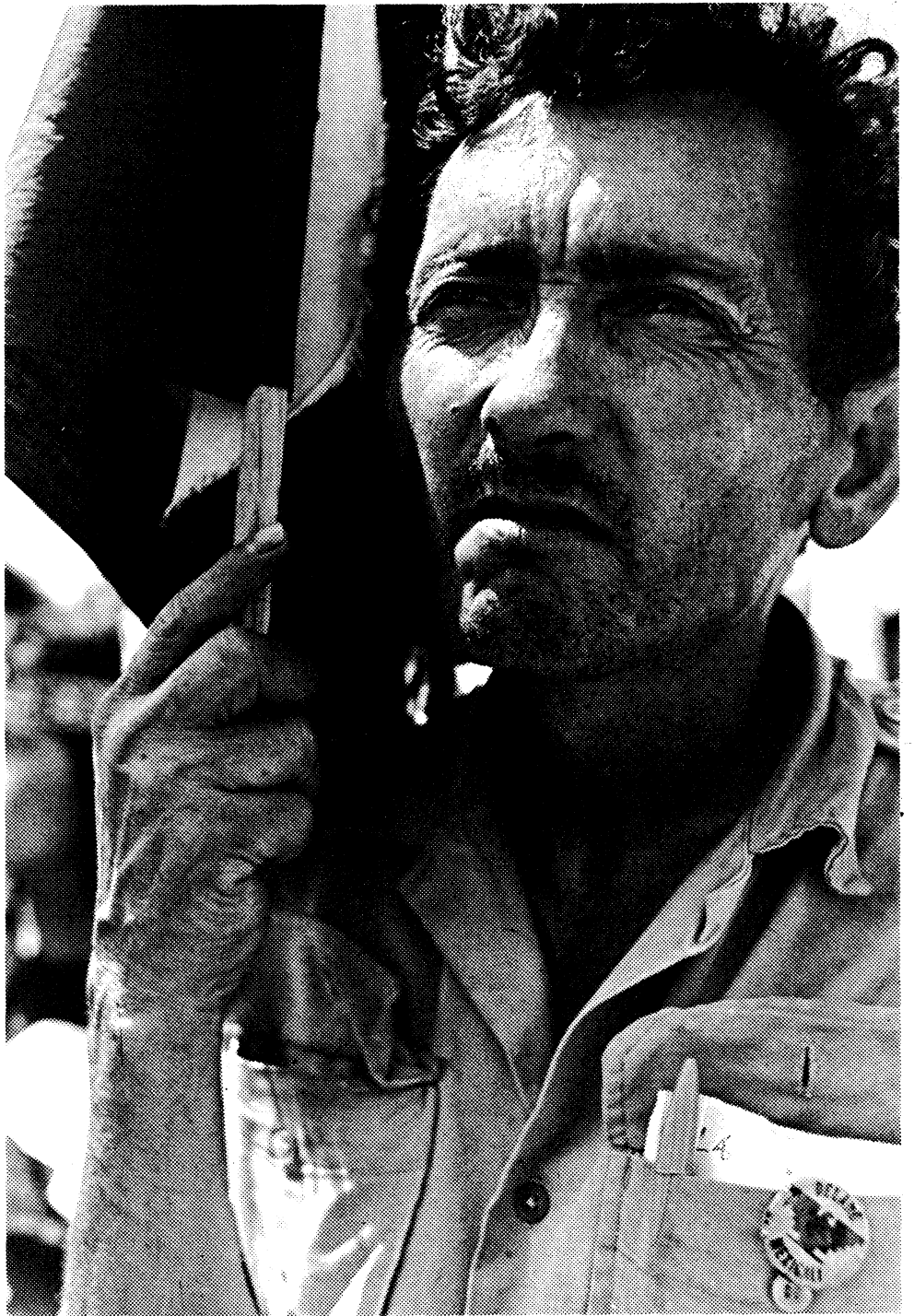
As it was in the first struggle, he sees the nationwide boycott as the key to victory. The very nature of the industry makes the boycott essential, he explained. The biggest grower in Delano, for example, farms 6,000 acres

and even a stronger union than the UFW couldn't shut down that kind of a sprawling operation the way production can be shut down by pickets at factory gates.

The initial response to the present boycott efforts confirms there is a basis for mounting an effective national and even international campaign against scab grapes.

dred people attended a noontime memorial service Aug. 17 for the two slain farmworkers. Participating in the meeting were a number of labor representatives, who voiced their union's support to the striking Farm Workers, and several religious leaders.

John Colstead of the Communications Workers of America and United Mine Workers attorney Joseph Rauh sent statements of support to the rally.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Despite slayings of two strikers, farm workers are determined to step up boycott.

In Chicano communities throughout the Southwest there is a strong sense of solidarity with the United Farm Workers. Chicanos correctly see the farm workers' struggle as a fight against racist oppression as well as against economic exploitation.

Throughout the country, thousands of people have expressed their readiness to participate in and help build the boycott movement. This is true among students, unionists, church groups, and many others.

The key to the effectiveness of the boycott will lie in the UFW taking the lead in organizing these forces for direct, massive involvement in the boycott movement. If that is done, despite the obstacles, victory for the United Farm Workers remains a realizable goal.

The murders of Nagi Daifullah and Juan de la Cruz in two separate incidents in mid-August have been met with outrage by United Farm Workers supporters throughout the country. In Washington, D. C., several hun-

In Philadelphia, more than 125 supporters of the UFW attended a memorial meeting for Daifullah and de la Cruz on Aug. 20. At the meeting a statement from César Chávez was read by Ruth Shy, the Philadelphia UFW boycott coordinator.

Present at the Philadelphia meeting were Ed Toohey, president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and Dick Lynch, secretary of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO.

In an earlier action, more than 700 UFW supporters joined a spirited rally and march through the Mission district of San Francisco July 28 to help strengthen the grape, lettuce, and Safeway boycotts.

The demonstrators carried hundreds of red UFW flags and chanted, "Boycott Safeway, shut it down." Led by a contingent of 15 striking farmworkers from the Gallo winery near Salinas, the demonstrators marched to the largest Safeway in town. There the crowd divided up to picket Safeways throughout the city.

Thousands protest killings of strikers, demand investigation

DELANO, Calif., — Thousands of farm workers marched in the funeral procession here for a striking member of the United Farm Workers Union who died at the hands of a deputy sheriff. As the rites were conducted, plans were already under way for the funeral of a second striker—this one shot to death on a picket line.

Police officials, who took a count from helicopters that hovered overhead, said 7,500 people joined in the funeral march behind the coffin of Nagi Daifullah, a 24-year-old immigrant Arab worker from Yemen who died Aug. 15 of compound skull fractures. Other reporters estimated there were 10,000 in the funeral march.

Daifullah had been at a local bar with other strikers when sheriff's deputies provoked a fight. Daifullah was pursued from the bar by Deputy Gilbert Cooper, who claims that Daifullah threw a bottle at him during the melee.

Using a heavy flashlight as a weapon, the deputy struck Daifullah to the ground. Cooper claims he only hit Daifullah on the shoulder, and that the double fracture from which Daifullah died resulted from his slipping and falling to the sidewalk. Eyewitnesses insist the cop clubbed Daifullah over the head.

The day after Daifullah died, Juan de la Cruz, a founding member of the union, was gunned down as he and other pickets watched scabs ending



Arab workers lead UFW funeral procession for Nagi Daifullah, a striker, killed by deputy sheriff.

Because of the union-busting activity of local authorities, the UFW has demanded federal intervention. They are insisting that the Justice Department act in the killing of the two strikers and that the FBI take action to halt the violence and other infringement of civil rights. Senator John Tunney (D-Cal.) has demanded that U.S. Attorney General Elliott Richardson take "strenuous federal actions to prevent further violence."

Jerry Cohen, chief counsel to the UFW, told reporters that he would demand a federal investigation into "the pattern of conduct by the sheriffs' departments in Kern, Tulare, and Fresno" counties. He said the local police were acting like "a private army of the growers."

Vineyard owners, foremen, and scabs have been openly carrying guns in the strike area and have used them on several occasions.

Two pickets were shot Aug. 10 during a confrontation with scabs in nearby Tulare County. One suffered a head wound and the other had a bullet removed from his hip at the Farm Workers clinic here.

The wounding of the two strikers had been the fourth shooting incident in 24 hours. Previously shots were fired at unionists outside a migrant labor camp and at cars driving in the area of struck vineyards.

In one such incident, a car driven by Howard Petrick, a photographer for *The Militant*, was struck by a bullet.

On Aug. 15 gunshots were fired at a picket line that included two sons of UFW leader César Chávez.

Along with others, Fernando Chávez, 24, and his brother Anthony, 13, narrowly escaped injury in the shooting.

In a number of instances, strikers have demanded that deputies arrest growers and scabs who openly pointed guns at them in the presence of the cops. The police have simply refused to make such arrests.

Meanwhile, in Fresno County, the strikers won a victory as they defied an injunction limiting the size of picket lines and the use of bullhorns to appeal to nonstrikers.

More than 400 strikers and supporters, including 60 members of the clergy, filled the county jail for nearly two weeks. They refused to post bail or to be released on their own recognizance on the condition of pledging to respect the injunction. On Aug. 14, a state superior court judge overruled the local judge who tried to impose special conditions on the prisoners' freedom.

Two days later, in Tulare County, officials dropped criminal charges

against 249 pickets arrested for defying injunctions. A court clerk said that because of lack of facilities to bring them to trial, steps would be taken to file civil charges, eliminating the need for jury trials. This reduces the possibility of serious victimization of strikers.

These victories were the fruits of the courage and tenacity of the strikers, who continue their fight in the face of the violence and victimization by the race-baiting, union-busting forces arrayed against them.

That determination was clearly evident as the thousands of strikers marched silently in the funeral procession for Nagi Daifullah. For nearly four miles in the blazing morning sun, the long funeral procession made its way down a dusty highway through the struck vineyards as it proceeded from Delano to the union's headquarters at nearby 40 Acres.

There, in a huge open area, Moslem and Catholic services were held for the slain unionist. His body is being shipped home to Yemen for burial.

César Chávez spoke briefly. He assailed the greed and hate of the growers responsible for Daifullah's death and reiterated his belief in the need for nonviolence as the means of winning.

Joan Baez led the largely Chicano gathering in singing "We Shall Overcome" in Spanish.

As one stood among the throng of workers assembled there it was clear that despite the heavy odds against them this is a movement, a cause, that has the capacity and potential to win.

—HARRY RING

Houston teachers strike for living wage

By BECKY ELLIS

HOUSTON — Five thousand Houston teachers met here Aug. 19 in Delmar Stadium and voted 2 to 1 to strike. The strike began Aug. 20, the first scheduled day of classes.

The strike marks a historic first for teachers in the South. Teachers are forbidden by law to strike in Texas. In addition, the law states that striking teachers immediately lose their teaching certificate and can no longer work in the Texas public services.

The 9,000 teachers in Houston are represented by the Houston Teachers Association (HTA), an affiliate of the National Education Association. The HTA is asking for an \$1,100 across-the-board raise. Beginning teachers now receive only \$7,100 a year. The HTA is also asking that the school board provide adequate facilities and materials, which many teachers now pay for out of their own pockets.

The school board wants the teachers to pay more for their health insurance premiums this year without any added



DAN FEIN: Teacher and Socialist Workers candidate campaigns in support of strike.

coverage. The HTA wants no increases. HTA is also demanding a reduction in class sizes. Many classrooms in Houston last year had more than 40 students.

The first mass meeting to discuss the situation was held Aug. 15. The 5,000 teachers at that meeting decided to begin around-the-clock negotiations and called for the Aug. 19 meeting to discuss the progress made.

The school board has sabotaged all consultation with the teachers since February and has stated during the negotiations that the teachers have no rights.

In an attempt to discourage striking teachers, Dr. George Garver, general superintendent of the Houston independent school district, announced that the strike was a flop and that 85 percent of the teachers had showed up to work the first day. The HTA quickly responded by documenting 30 schools that had to close down completely because almost no one reported to work.

Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, was chosen picket captain at Jones High School, where he teaches. Fein said that at his school 75 percent of the students refused to go to class and about two-thirds of the teachers were picketing or staying home.

Reporting on the Aug. 19 meeting, the *Houston Chronicle* quoted Fein saying, "I can't see how we can do anything but strike; a united strike is how to win." Fein also appeared on Channel 13 TV, addressing the Aug. 19 meeting.



Farm workers' support action in Los Angeles.

a day's work at a struck vineyard near Bakersfield.

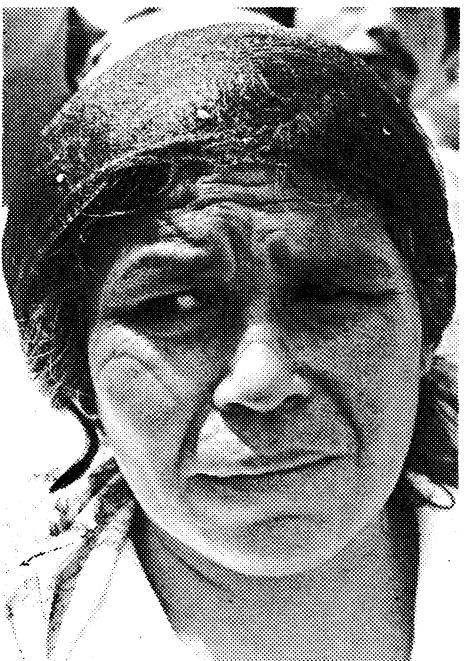
De la Cruz and his wife, also a striker, were standing in front of their car when a pickup truck sped by and began firing at the strikers. He was the only one hit, and he died several hours later with a bullet from a .22-caliber rifle in his chest.

Acting on the basis of a description of the truck by strikers, police later arrested two nonstrikers reportedly employed at another ranch. According to the UFW, the rifle was still in the truck at the time of the arrest.

One picketer, Nellie Navaras, told reporters she had been standing near de la Cruz during the split-second shooting episode. What struck her, she said, was how the sheriff's deputies, who always have a heavy presence at the picket lines, seemed to have disappeared just before the shooting.

Seconds after the shooting she realized "there were no deputies, no sheriffs, no nothing. . . . It seems like they had a meeting, all the sheriffs, and just then they rode away."

The suspicion of police complicity in the killing stems from the mounting antiunion violence in the area and the open support the "law enforcement" officers have been giving the growers.



Chicana farm worker in funeral procession.

Mobilize for boycott!

The United Farm Workers Union is fighting for survival against the unholy alliance of California growers, cops, and Teamster bureaucrats. These racist union-busters have now shown they will not hesitate to resort to murder if that's what it takes to smash the UFW. The Teamsters are trying to cover up murder with deceit by phony announcements of "repudiating" their contracts with grape growers.

But thousands of farm workers refuse to be cowed by the violence or tricked by the lies. They are determined to defend their union and the gains they have won through it.

The UFW has called for extending the boycott movement throughout the country. Striking farm workers are traveling to more than 60 cities to lead in boycott activities.

The farm workers face difficult odds and they need support. The way to honor the martyred strikers, Nagi Daifullah and Jose de la Cruz, is to build a massive boycott campaign.

We should work to educate everyone about the justice of the farm workers' cause. Members of unions and other organizations can organize support for the boycott and send financial contributions to the UFW. Students can make sure when classes open that not a single college or high school purchases scab produce.

Meetings and rallies should be organized in every city to express solidarity with the farm workers and publicize the boycott. The picketing at stores that sell non-UFW grapes and lettuce, and especially at Safeway and A&P, must be stepped up.

Every socialist, every trade unionist, every Chicano, everyone who supports the right of the farm workers to a decent life and the union of their choice should take action now!

The Gainesville 8

The frame-up trial of seven members and one supporter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) is now under way in Gainesville, Fla. The Gainesville Eight are accused of conspiring to carry out an armed attack on the Republican Party national convention in 1972.

Once again, Nixon and his fellow Watergate conspirators are seeking to victimize a section of the antiwar movement. They are staging this trial with the aim of discouraging radical opposition to their policies.

The government has obviously spared no effort—illegal wiretaps, provocateurs, and informers—to concoct its frame-up charges. The extraordinary number of dirty tricks devoted to victimizing the Gainesville Eight is a testimony to the Nixon administration's special hatred for and fear of the Vietnam-era veterans who participated in the antiwar movement.

These antiwar veterans cut across the government's jingoist lie that the demand for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam betrayed the interests of American GIs. The sight of thousands of Vietnam vets throwing down their combat ribbons in disgust with the war was an inspiration to millions—including active-duty GIs—to join in mass demonstrations for the withdrawal of troops from Indochina.

Perhaps most galling to the imperialists in Washington was the fact that the participation of GIs and veterans in the antiwar movement revealed a fatal flaw in their war plans. The U.S. imperialists know that to win and maintain support for colonial wars, they have to keep the truth about these wars from the American people.

But the warmakers in Washington have never figured out how to fight these wars without armies made up of human beings—human beings like those now on trial in Gainesville, who saw the truth about what was happening in Vietnam and came back as "walking, talking Pentagon papers."

The U.S. government sent more than two million young men to fight in its illegal and immoral war in Indochina. Many never came back. Many, like some of the Gainesville defendants, came back with their bodies riddled by shrapnel.

The same government that sent them to Vietnam to "fight for freedom" is now attacking their constitutional right to oppose the war and other injustices. These vets should be supported by all defenders of democratic rights.

Danish press

Militant readers might like to know that the headlines in the Danish papers from July 12 to July 15 went like this: "President Nixon is getting better," "Today, Nixon has been able to sit in his armchair," "Doctors: Nixon discharged in about a week."

Nothing about Watergate or Cambodia. The obedience of the Danish press to its superiors is well known!

Alf Andersen
Denmark

Militant used in classes

I have a subscription to your fine newspaper. I will be moving and therefore want to give you my new address.

I teach Chicano studies at Cal. State College, Los Angeles, and thus I use some of your material on La Raza in my class lectures.

R.S.
Alhambra, Calif.

King Richard's Court

Imagine. King Richard's Court has the audacity to condemn consumers for "panic buying," "hoarding," and the like because we are desperately trying to defend ourselves against the huge increases in food prices and "scarcity." Imagine that!

And these same administrative czars and bourgeois spokespersons find nothing wrong with encouraging a different class of people, our beloved "speculators" on wheat, corn, soybean, meat, and other "commodity" markets, to bid up prices to their heart's content. They call it "free enterprise." Them that's got, they can do as they please. But what about the rest of us?

Looks like the time has come for adopting our own way out. End all that damn "defense" spending! Add an escalator clause to every wage, salary, pension and Social Security payment, and welfare and unemployment payment! Peg those escalator clauses to a price index established by union-consumer committees.

End unemployment by cutting the workweek immediately to 30 hours and thereafter however much is needed to absorb all of those wishing to work, without taking away one penny from our incomes. Build a labor party! And if our good citizen "speculators" scream they can't "afford" it, then let's open their books and see.

A worker and consumer
Schenectady, N.Y.

Stealing food

Stealing food is up, reports a recent *New York Post* article, as New Yorkers stagger resentfully under the high prices. The *Post* surveyed market managers and found them defensive and apologetic. These are not "hardened criminals," one manager pointed out. Another described his feelings after catching a 70-year-old man lifting a package of baloney: "You know, I was much more embarrassed than he was."

One manager told this story: "I remember one lady, 68, who took a couple of tomatoes and when we caught her, she just looked at us with sad eyes and said, 'I just couldn't afford it.'"

Michael Smith
New York, N.Y.

A note from New Zealand

Congratulations on your excellent publication. It has been a source of knowledge unavailable elsewhere for our movement. We in the Socialist Action League have found your paper an invaluable guide to revolutionaries beyond comparison to any other radical paper from the United States or internationally.

Your coverage of the new radical movements, from the women's liberation to the Black struggle in the U.S., and especially the antiwar movement, has provided us with material for use in similar developments in New Zealand.

Other radical organizations have also used your material. Recently the Auckland University Gay Liberation Movement reprinted an article by David Thorstad from *The Militant* in their four-page supplement in the student newspaper *Craccum*.

M.T.
Auckland, New Zealand

SWP lawsuit

I have just learned from the July 27 issue of *The Militant* of the law suit against Nixon and the rest of his cohorts. It is something that should have been done long ago. It is a very brave thing to do considering the harassment that could follow Linda Jenness and the rest of the SWP. The SWP, YSA, Communist Party, and any other groups have our firm support, though financially there is little we can do to help.

We well appreciate the harassment the YSA, SWP, and other groups with similar beliefs go through. We are the recipients of our own brand of "gestapo" type oppression.

A prisoner
Iowa

The Alaska pipeline

The U.S. government and the oil companies it is representing have really "gained" from their efforts to deceive the public into believing that we have a tremendous oil shortage. In a tie vote broken by Vice-president Agnew, the Senate voted to start construction of the Alaskan pipeline rather than to allow an 11-month waiting period.

During that time alternate pipeline routes would have been studied. Even after a 6,000-page environmental impact statement was filed, carefully documenting why this pipeline *should not* be built, our representatives have still decided to proceed with this destructive measure.

As a result, much of the Alaskan environment, including wildlife, water, and permafrost, will be devastated. The thousands of barrels of oil that have already been spilled and those that will be spilled will seriously endanger life in that area.

A terribly dangerous precedent has been set and this as well as other environmental issues should be extensively examined from a revolutionary socialist perspective.

Carole Lesnick
Madison, Wis.

A lot of bull

Nixon, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, his nibs' nervous finks and tin-badge twerps have shot so much bull in recent months that it's surprising we have a meat shortage.

G.M.C.
San Diego, Calif.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Far out

You have a far out paper—to use the jargon. Keep printing no matter what. I find yours the only readable journalism around.

Please send copies to my home. The parents and kids might read it. A.M.

Bloomington, Ind.

Disagrees about abortion

Enclosed is a small contribution. It is enlightening, if discouraging, to read what is really happening in the country.

Know, however, that I am completely opposed to your support of abortion. Since when does a woman's right to "control her own body" permit the killing of what is by all criteria clearly another individual, distinct from, if dependent on, her body? If it be "reactionary" to defend human life, let it be so. But only the standard of selfishness can make the unborn something less than human, a kind of appendage at a woman's disposal.

Surely a paper published "in the interests of the working people" has better tasks to fulfill than promoting the deaths of unborn babies for the convenience of women "liberated," perhaps only from responsibility. Is socialism also to destroy the powerless at the will of the majority?

William Stockelman
Cincinnati, Ohio

From a farm worker

As a farm worker, I especially appreciate your coverage of the United Farm Workers Union struggle.

I'd like to see more articles on China and other workers states defining the Socialist Workers Party's critical support. You are to be commended for facing the bitter truth. True support has to be fortified with criticism when due, or it's just hogwash.

T.D.
Forestville, Calif.

Bertolt Brecht

This poem by Bertolt Brecht speaks for itself:

Those who take meat from the table
Teach contentment.
Those for whom the taxes are destined
Demand sacrifice.
Those who eat their fill speak to the hungry
Of wonderful times to come.
Those who lead the country into the abyss
Call ruling too difficult
For ordinary man.
A reader
Los Angeles, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Secret bank loans to S. Africa

From 1966 to 1969, several churches, Black organizations, and other groups organized a successful campaign against 10 U.S. banks with investments in South Africa. The protest campaign forced the banks to withdraw some \$40-million in credit from the white-settler regime.

But the story didn't end there. In recent weeks it has come to light that new *secret* U.S. loans and bank credits have been made to the South African government.

Information contained in the "Frankfurt Documents" reveals that 40 banks from the U.S., Canada, and Europe have been lending more than \$210-million to South Africa since late 1970. The "Frankfurt Documents" were leaked by someone inside the European-American Banking Corporation, and made available in West Germany. The information has been published by the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches.

One of the most powerful banking groups in the world, the European-American Banking Corporation (EABC), has spearheaded the loans project.

According to the July 21 *Carolina Times*, the revelations are so sensitive that "an expose written for publication in the New York Times last week, for instance, was suddenly pulled from that newspaper at the last minute." The *Carolina Times* states that at least one of the banks exercised "sufficient financial leverage" on the *New York Times* to kill the story.

Eleven U.S. banks are involved. These include Wells Fargo, First National Bank of Louisville, First Israel Bank of New York, City National Bank of Detroit, Central National Bank in Chicago, United Virginia Bank, and Wachovia Bank and Trust, one of the largest banks in the Southeast.

Wachovia is clearly identified in the "Frankfurt Documents," but has continued to insist it is not in-

volved. Nonetheless, representatives of the EABC acknowledged veracity of the document in a meeting with Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa.

To hide their involvement from public access, several of these banks provided the loans through their Nassau branches. Reverend Sterling Cary, the Black president of the National Council of Churches, recently wrote to Lynden Pindling, prime minister of the Bahamas, requesting him to stop these U.S. banks from using their Nassau branches to make the loans. Pindling, whose country was granted formal independence last month, has not yet responded.

The loans were made to the South African Ministry of Finance; the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR); Metkor Investments Limited, a subsidiary of ISCOR; and the Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa (ESCOM).

The loans will probably be used for general balance of payments purposes, and to purchase machinery and equipment for ISCOR and ESCOM, according to the Corporate Information Center. One of ESCOM's chief tasks is the supplying of electricity from the Caborra Bassa dam project in Mozambique.

Protest is being organized. In Petersburg, Va., the majority Black city council plans to issue an open letter to the United Virginia Bank, denouncing the secret loans, and possibly to introduce a resolution calling a halt to the city's business dealings with the bank.

Information from the "Frankfurt Documents" will be invaluable to all opponents of apartheid and of U.S. financial support to the South African regime. The documents can be obtained by sending 60 cents to: Corporate Information Center, Room 846, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027.



National Picket Line

Frank Love!!

Lessons of Kalkaska

The Battle of Kalkaska ended in the middle of July. But the class war that erupted between the building-trades unions and union-busting contractors is destined to continue.

Kalkaska, Mich., will never be the same again. The rural community that was once part of the rich fruit-producing country is being absorbed by the new gas industry that is changing the economy and the environment. State officials estimate that \$500-million will be spent during this decade in the quest for natural gas and oil in Michigan.

A secret agreement signed in U.S. District Court at Grand Rapids provides that Shell Oil Company's new natural gas processing plant at Kalkaska will be built with nonunion labor. Shell and its Texas-based scab contractor, Delta Engineering, will hire all workers through the state employment office without regard to union membership. Preference will be given to local residents.

Shell and Delta had brought heavy damage suits against the unions, charging destruction of property. The National Labor Relations Board had requested an injunction against the unions for conducting a secondary boycott against Shell.

At the height of the battle to force Shell to hire union labor, 500 state troopers were deployed in and around Kalkaska. Union pickets were jailed, and heavy fines were levied. Some were held over for more severe criminal charges.

In the settlement, Shell and Delta agreed to drop all court actions against the unions, but criminal charges against pickets were not dropped.

The unions agreed to work without a contract, side-by-side with nonunion workers. Union officials claimed that union members would be paid union wages and receive fringe benefits, but this was disputed by the bosses' representatives, who reserve the right to reject "unsatisfactory" workers.

This temporary truce is a serious blow to the building-trades unions and the entire union movement in Michigan. It is understood as such and hailed by leading publications of big business. The July 31 *Wall Street Journal* gloats, "the settlement underscores the growing trend toward nonunion labor

in the nation's largest industry."

This defeat cannot be blamed on any lack of combativity by union members. Building tradesmen were determined to stop the scab operation. They converged on Kalkaska from all corners of the state. But the traditional policy of craft-conscious union bureaucrats limited the strike action and the boycott of Shell to the demand that Shell cancel its contract with Delta and sign up with one of "our" union contractors. These union officials are more interested in organizing bosses than workers.

They made no appeal to local workers in Kalkaska to join the union. If any had asked to join they would have been told "our books are closed," or "we don't have any jobs now."

As a result of this policy, the construction industry is largely unorganized. Union work is confined to new construction in some of the major cities such as New York, San Francisco, Detroit, and Chicago.

If the nonunionized workers are not organized, the moribund building-trades unions cannot hope to control the construction industry and maintain union wage standards and conditions of work.

Modern construction methods make the old craft divisions obsolete. Any serious effort to organize construction workers will have to be done by an industrial organization that brings all these workers into one big union.

One of the ironies of the Kalkaska "settlement" is that the officials of the building-trades unions in Michigan tried to console themselves (or deceive others) with the claim that they are, in this case, indirect social benefactors.

The *Michigan AFL-CIO News* reports, "Any savings Shell made from using non-union labor are wiped out in the agreement which requires Shell and the contractor, Delta Engineering Inc., of Houston, Tex., to each give \$125,000 to Kalkaska Township for unspecified public works construction projects."

Workers in Kalkaska and throughout Michigan will return this many times over in the form of underpaid labor unless an organizing drive of construction workers begins soon. Kalkaska would be a good place to start.

Opponents of 'Baby Doc' Duvalier

Haitian refugees fight for asylum in U.S.

By CLAIRE MORIARTY

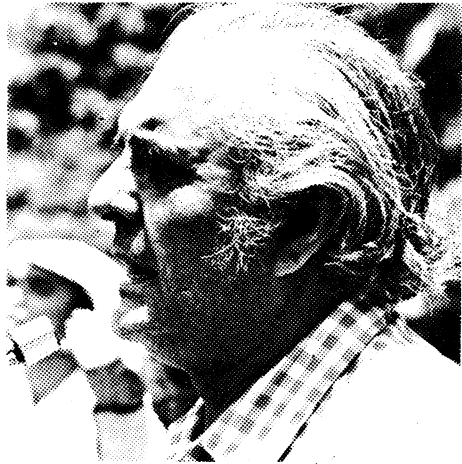
NEW YORK — Last December, 65 men and women slipped into a boat moored off the Haitian coast. They were fleeing Haiti—not the Haiti of the travel brochures but the Haiti of bloody repression, secret trials, torture, and execution—the Haiti of "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

The 65 were followed by other refugees—25 on one boat, six on another, 21 in a third—117 in all.

They fled to Miami, a hostile Miami where jobs and homes are difficult to find if you don't have proper visas or travel papers.

On June 8, 1973, the U. S. Immigration Service caught up with eight of the refugees. They pleaded for asylum. But the Immigration Department turned a deaf ear. "There's nothing to fear from the Haitian government," they claimed!—and then began a general roundup of Haitian refugees.

Twenty-eight were jailed. Or as the government put it, "held under preventive detention until deportation." The U. S. government might just as well have said "until imprisonment in Haiti and likely execution" because at least 12 of the Haitians were escaped political prisoners.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

CORONA: Explained parallel between struggle of Mexican 'illegals' and plight of Haitian exiles.

But the Immigration Department had not reckoned on Reverend John Jenkins, who had been sheltering the 117 Haitians since their arrival in Miami. He protested. Others joined him. The Immigration Department backed down, and the roundup ended. Bail for the 28 refugees was set at \$1,000 each.

This victory gave the Haitians and their defenders confidence. They protested the exorbitant bail and pressed for the release of the 28. They held several demonstrations and on June 27, they won.

On that day attorneys and activists defending the Haitians met with Immigration officials in Washington, D. C. The government had certainly not anticipated a defense like this. Protests had spread from Miami to New York.

The 28 refugees were released on their own recognizance.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) took up the defense of the Haitian refugees. On July 5, USLA held a press conference and picket line in front of the Immigration offices in New York City.

USLA then coordinated another demonstration to demand asylum for the Haitian refugees. The rally was held in New York City July 28, the fifty-sixth anniversary of the U. S. invasion of Haiti in 1917.

In addition to opposing the deportation of the Haitians, the rally denounced the deportation of undocumented workers in the Southwest, and the dragnet raids on suspected "illegal aliens" on the East Coast.

Cosponsoring the rally were Coalición de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamérica (CLAN), El Comité, Committee to Defend the Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA), Friends of Haiti, Comité pro Defensa de los Derechos en la Republica Dominicana, El Centro Dominicano de Orientación y Asistencia Social, El



Saleem Joseph of the Association to Prevent Discrimination Against Arabs speaking to July 28 anti-deportation rally in New York. Seated at left is Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Centro Chicano, Third World Peoples Coalition, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Speakers at the July 28 rally included Gerard LaTortue, former Haitian political prisoner; Bert Corona, a well known Chicano leader and founder of CASA-Hermanidad in Los Angeles; Digna Sanchez, managing editor of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's newspaper, *Claridad*; Reverend Sterling Cary, president of the National Council of Churches; Ira Golobin, defense lawyer for Gerard LaTortue; Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and 1972 vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party; and Saleem Joseph of the Association to Prevent Discrimination Against Arabs. The audience of 250 heard speeches in English, Spanish, French, and Creole.

Saleem Joseph related the Immigration Service's threats to deport the Haitian exiles to its witch-hunt against Arab students, particularly since the Munich events of September 1972.

Andrew Pulley compared the favored

treatment of counterrevolutionary Cubans in Miami to the U. S. government's treatment of the Haitian exiles there. "U. S. big business controls the Haitian economy," he said, "and through Baby Doc Duvalier dictates its politics."

Gerard LaTortue, one of the Haitian exiles who has had his permit to remain in the U. S. revoked, reaffirmed his opposition to the Haitian regime and appealed for recognition of his right to political asylum in the United States.

His case is scheduled to come before the Immigration officials August 23. His deportation to Haiti would mean imprisonment, torture, and almost certain execution because of his opposition to the Duvalier regime.

Bert Corona spoke at the climax of the defense rally. He compared the experiences of the Mexican "illegals" [undocumented workers] fighting deportation in the Southwest to the struggle of the Haitian exiles. "The only way to end deportation," he said, "is by unifying. And the only way to win is by taking our fight to the streets!"

Socialists urge action to defeat Rodino bill

The following statement was issued by the New York Socialist Workers Party 1973 Campaign Committee, and distributed at the July 28 anti-deportation rally in New York City.

The U. S. Immigration Service is now conducting a wave of dragnet raids in the Chicano communities on the West Coast and in the Latino, Dominican, Haitian, and Puerto Rican communities on the East Coast.

Ostensibly, the raids are designed to round up "illegal aliens"—those without visas or work permits. In reality, these raids have involved the illegal search and seizure, detention, and deportation of dark-skinned "Latin-looking" or "Latin-sounding" people without due process.

Puerto Ricans, who are U. S. citizens, have also been victims of these raids. The U. S. government has also been in complicity with the reactionary Duvalier and Balaguer regimes in rounding up Haitians and Dominicans who face political persecution after they are deported.

Right now in Miami, 117 Haitian refugees face deportation. If the Immigration authorities turn them over to the "Baby Doc" Duvalier government, they will be tortured and killed. For the Miami 117, deportation means death.

The Rodino Bill, which was passed by the U. S. House of Representatives last September, has faced little opposition by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress. If it is passed by the Senate and made into law, it would provide the legal cover for the harassment and victimization that is now being carried out.

The Rodino Bill would revise the Immigration and Nationality Act by making it "unlawful for any employer . . . knowingly to employ . . . any alien in the U. S. who has not been lawfully admitted

to the U. S. for permanent residence."

The sponsors of the Rodino Bill would have us believe that they are protecting U. S. labor from "aliens" who steal jobs. In reality, the undocumented "aliens" would be forced to do the same labor as U. S. workers for substandard wages.

This superexploitation enables employers to keep wages low for all workers. The attacks on immigrant workers are attacks on the entire U. S. work force. The United Farm Workers Union, recognizing that the problems of "illegal aliens" are also the problems of U. S. workers, has recently called for the defeat of the Rodino Bill.

It is the immigrant and U. S. workers—and not the employers—who would be the victims of this law. The law provides that the employers only be slapped on the wrist. But what of the immigrant workers? They are used as a source of super-exploited, supercheap labor. The flow of so-called illegal aliens is regulated by the Immigration authorities. When there is a labor surplus, there is a stepped-up drive to deport them.

The Socialist Workers Party opposes this harassment of "illegal aliens" by the Immigration Service and supporters of the Rodino Bill. We support all demonstrations, rallies, and pickets protesting the Rodino Bill and the current dragnets. We urge all trade unions, civil libertarians, and community organizations to oppose these racist, undemocratic attacks on noncitizens.

We urge Mayor John Lindsay and the other candidates for mayor of New York to speak out against the dragnet raids and harassment directed at this city's Latino and Haitian communities.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Defeat the Rodino Bill and all legislation victimizing noncitizens.
- Stop racist dragnets by the Immigration Ser-

vice against Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Dominicans, and other Latino people.

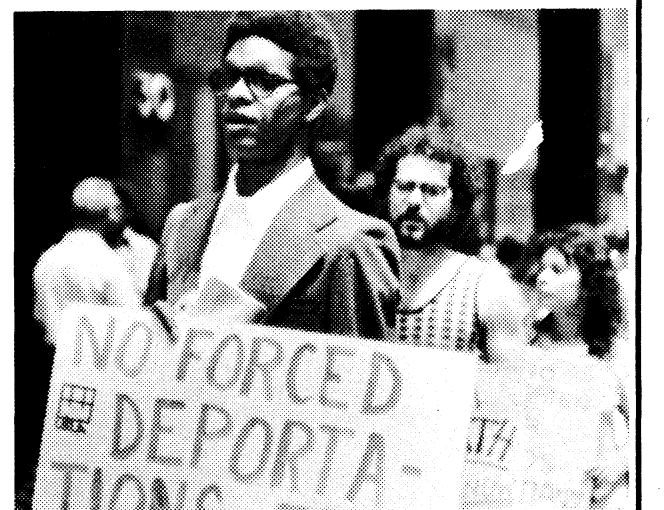
- Oppose all deportation including the deportation of political refugees and deportation from the U. S. for political activity in this country.

- Grant asylum to the 117 Haitians and all political refugees.

- Oppose all quotas that restrict immigration to the U. S.

- Welfare, Social Security, and unemployment benefits at union scale for all unemployed workers, including immigrant workers.

- Shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work to all who need jobs.



Militant/Baxter Smith

Norman Oliver (left), SWP candidate for mayor of New York, on picket line sponsored by United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

AUGUST 31, 1973

Pompidou forced to free Krivine

Confronted by an international protest campaign, the French government has been compelled to allow the release of Alain Krivine from prison. Krivine was a central leader of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, which was banned by the Pompidou regime on June 28. Although he is at liberty under the terms of provisional release, Krivine still must face trial.

The pretext for the arrest of Krivine and the banning of the League was an antifascist demonstration sponsored by the League and other groups on June 21. The protest was against a meeting of the fascist group New Order, which is conducting a racist campaign to keep immigrant workers out of France.

Another former leader of the League, Pierre Rousset, remains in prison. Rousset was jailed simply for being present in the League's headquarters when it was sacked by police June 22. In addition, 25 other ex-members of the League still face charges stemming from the June 21 demonstration.

Krivine held a news conference upon leaving prison. He declared that the Communist League would not go underground but would fight for its right to exist.

Demanding the right of revolutionists in France to express their views on civil liberties, repression, and the role of the police, Krivine challenged Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin

to debate him on national television. Marcellin is the government figure who has pressed the hardest for the arrests and banning of the League.

The provisional release of Krivine is a significant victory for the campaign that has developed, both in France and internationally, in defense of the rights of the League and its former members.

The breadth of support for the League inside France was expressed in the delegation of prominent individuals who visited the French Ministry of Justice July 25 to demand the lifting of the ban on the League and freedom for Krivine and Rousset. Included in the delegation of 22 were top leaders of the Socialist Party and the CFDT (the second largest trade-union federation in France), actress Simone Signoret, and many well-known scientists and intellectuals.

The campaign continues to gather steam outside France as well. An example was the response from Canadian labor figures at the July 19-22 federal convention of the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party). Scores of prominent members of parliament and trade-union officials signed an open letter to French President Pompidou calling for the release of former members of the Communist League and immediate rescinding of the ban.

Referring to the imposition of repression through the War Measures

Act in Canada in 1970, the letter states: "It is the traditional view of organizations and political parties of labor, and of democrats and civil libertarians that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

On July 20, some 40 persons from various organizations gathered in Montréal to form the Québec Com-

Statements of support for the campaign in defense of the Communist League in France should be sent to: M. F. Kahn, 15, rue Clerc, Paris 7, France. Copies of any protest statements sent to the Pompidou government should be sent to the same address. Financial contributions to the defense campaign should be sent to: C. C. P. Michel Foucault, Paris 26-15, France. One of the purposes of this fund is to assure the continued appearance of the newspaper Rouge, formerly the paper of the Communist League.

mittee against Repression in France. The meeting was chaired by André Leclair of the Québec Federation of Labor. The group will fight for the lifting of the ban on the Communist League and the dropping of all charges against former League members.

The Militant received a report from Dave Holmes on Aug. 5 concerning the growth of the defense campaign in Australia. A petition protesting the repression against the Communist League was initiated by the Socialist Workers League, supporters of the Fourth International in Australia. According to Holmes, "this petition has been endorsed by leaders of almost every political organisation to the left of the Labor Party, leaders of most of the major trade unions, and many prominent academic figures."

Among the signers are Dr. Jim Cairns, Minister for Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry; Dr. Moss Cass, Minister for the Environment and Conservation; and Bob Hawke, federal president of the Labor Party and president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

On Aug. 1 some 230 people held a protest meeting at the Sydney Trades Hall. "The sponsorship of the gathering was unprecedentedly broad," writes Holmes. "In fact, not for a very long time has there been a meeting in Australia which has drawn together such a wide spectrum of left and labor forces." Speakers included representatives of the Communist Party and Socialist Party of Australia.

In Dublin, Ireland, a meeting last month of 85 activists heard speakers



Rouge



Rouge

Pierre Rousset (left) and Alain Krivine upon their release from prison five years ago. They were jailed then for their role in the May 1968 workers upsurge in France.

from the Provisional Republican Movement, the Socialist Workers Movement, the Official Republican Movement, and the Revolutionary Marxist Group (Irish supporters of the Fourth International) protest the repression against the French revolutionists.

A joint statement issued by Sinn Féin (Kevin Street), People's Democracy, and the RMG cited the international cooperation by the capitalist ruling classes in repressing social movements, as exemplified by the role of Britain in Ireland and around the world. "To this type of [capitalist] solidarity we must oppose working-class internationalism; the ban of one organization is a setback for all the Left on an international scale."

A letter protesting the measures taken against the League was delivered to the French Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela. It was signed by Federico Alvarez of the Venezuelan Communist Party; Rafael José Nery, rector of the central university of Venezuela; leaders of the MIR and MAS (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left, and Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism); and Alfonso Ramírez, editor of *Voz Marxista* (*Marxist Voice*, published by supporters of the Fourth International).

Lip employees show bosses are not needed

French workers take control of plant to stop lay

By Caroline Lund

Besançon

The long banner covering the fence at the entrance to the Lip watch factory in this town in eastern France reads: "It can be done—We are producing and selling. [Signed] The Workers."

The 1,320 workers at Lip, France's largest, oldest, and best-known watch company, took over the enterprise on June 19 when faced by a company announcement of massive layoffs and refusal to pay the workers salaries. Since then the workers have organized to continue production on their own, selling the watches they produce to the public at 40 percent discount.

The Lip workers are appealing for solidarity from other workers throughout the world; both messages of support and financial contributions are needed. All the work of popularizing the Lip struggle must be paid for out of the solidarity collections, not from the sale of watches.

Contributions should be sent to:
Comité de Défense Lip
C.M.D.P. No. 421.388.40
25.000 Bescançon - Palente
France

Send messages of support to:
Collectif Ouvrier Lip, 25.000 Bescançon, France.

Popular support for the Lip workers is immense and has spread throughout France. Hundreds of workers—in delegations from factories all over France and from other European countries as well—have traveled to Lip to express their solidarity with the strikers, to buy watches, and to deliver collections for the support fund. Dozens of factories across the country have voted to launch unlimited strikes if the government or the bosses move against the Lip workers by force.

In Besançon itself, a city of 140,000, the workers have received support from almost every local institution, from the trade unions to the masonic lodges to the Roman Catholic archbishop. On June 15, the archbishop of Besançon was one of the speakers at a regional demonstration

of 15,000 held to support the Lip strike—the largest demonstration in the city since its liberation from the Nazis in 1945.

To a visitor in Besançon, signs of support for the strikers are everywhere. One sees the red and white stickers on automobile windows: "Support the Lip workers—No to layoffs; No to dismantlement." Posters cover the walls, signed by the two unions at Lip, the CGT and the CFDT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, and Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the Lip Action Committee, the various far-left organizations. The main highways coming into the city are dotted with prominent red arrows pointing the way to Lip for the constant stream of factory delegations coming to visit the plant.

The French capitalist class is well aware of the implications of this new form of strike, unprecedented in France. For example, the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry warned: "Lip is the most disturbing social conflict . . . because the continued operation of the factory, after a robbery, in essence, of the shareholders, calls into question the principles of authority, of property, of responsibility, of respect for contracts vis-à-vis suppliers and subcontractors, which are at the very base of our economic system and of our commercial law."

But despite their fears, the capitalist rulers are reluctant to move against the strikers because of the solid support they have received from the overwhelming majority of Lip workers and from the rest of the French working class. The basic issues generating the struggle at Lip—guaranteed employment for all and the sliding scale of wages—are issues touching all French workers.

The Lip Company is a subsidiary of Ebauches, S.A., a Swiss multinational corporation that also owns the Longines Company. Last April Ebauches announced plans for "restructuring" of the Lip enterprise in order to make it more profitable, resulting in layoffs of 200 workers.

The workers responded with immediate protests. The CFDT and CGT unions at Lip initiated general assemblies of the workers to discuss what to do. Work stoppages and slowdowns were conducted. The workers covered

3,000 police seize factory

August 20—Since the story on this page was written, the French government has carried out a massive assault on the workers of the Lip watch factory. At 6 a.m. on August 14, a force of 3,000 national police descended on the factory and evicted the 50 workers who were on guard duty at the time.

The government planned the assault for the height of the vacation period and the day before Assumption Day, a widely observed holiday in France.

Protests immediately broke out despite the vacation period. The day of the police assault some 10,000 people took to the streets in Besançon. Appearing in the demonstration was the mayor of the town, Jean Minjoz. All municipal employees and transportation workers in Besançon, as well as many other workers in the town and in the region, declared strikes in sympathy with the Lip workers.

The August 15 *New York Times* speculates that the government takeover of the plant could provoke "a test of strength that could lead to labor turmoil across France."

In response to an appeal by the major French unions and the Communist and Socialist parties, workers in various factories throughout the country have carried out work stoppages or protest strikes. For example, all union members in the

French railway system announced a one-hour strike in solidarity with the Lip workers.

The weekly newspaper *Rouge*, formerly the paper of the French Communist League (see story on page WO/1) released a statement calling for an immediate, united, massive response, including sympathy strikes wherever possible.

According to a report on the police assault carried in the August 17 *People's Translation Service*, the Lip workers' representatives announced that the vital watch parts "had been stored in a secret place, as well as thousands of watches whose return the government is demanding. They said they had also taken away four tons of documents, among which the computer tape including all the information about the firm's activities; no one would be able to find the phone number of a single client."

The workers had all taken their tool kits with them from the factory, and have now vowed to continue the production of watches in a gymnasium donated by a local school in Besançon.

Asked whether the workers feared legal action would be taken against them, a representative replied that everything has been "done by 1,000 people. It is no use hiring other workers and taking legal proceedings against us. Lip cannot function without us."

the factory walls with leaflets and posters as part of an ongoing political discussion of how to assure employment for all. Objections from the foremen were overruled by the workers with the demand for "respect for freedom of expression."

The Lip workers turned to the population of Besançon for support to their demands for no layoffs and no dismantlement of any sections of the factory. Workers passed out leaflets at entrances to the city, engaging in dialogues with motorists. One thousand of the 1,300 Lip workers demonstrated April 26 at the prefecture. On May 10 a rally of 5,000 took place in Besançon in support of the workers' demands. On May 28 a delegation of 534 Lip workers traveled to Paris to demonstrate and appeal for support. Political discussions and meetings were taking place constantly in the factory on "company time."

Since June 18 the struggle of the Lip workers has found an echo of solidarity across the border in Switzerland, where the problem of layoffs in the watch industry affects thousands of workers. Many meetings have taken place in solidarity with the Lip struggle, and on June 23 there was a demonstration of 800 persons at the border town of Chaux-de-Fonds. Militants of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (LMR, Revolutionary Marxist League, Swiss supporters of the Fourth International) were at the center of the organizing activities that built these support actions.

A turning point in the Lip struggle came on June 12, when the administrators of the factory announced to the workers representatives that the company was applying for bankruptcy, and the workers would no longer receive their salaries and also would not receive their vacation pay (vacations for all the workers were to start June 29). Faced with this ultimatum, the workers representatives decided to hold the managers in their offices in order to find out more about the company's plans against the workers.

Going through the managers' portfolios, the workers found documents laying out plans for layoffs of nearly half the work force at Lip, by dismantling whole sections of the plant. In a press conference held at the factory, the workers denounced the schemes and lies of the company that were exposed in the secret papers.

One of the documents described the company's plans to put aside 2 million new francs (more than \$500,000) for expenses from "social disturbances (foreseeable if this plan is put into effect)." Another revealed plans for a wage freeze, and the elimination of the sliding scale of wages and other benefits that the workers had won during the May 1968 general strike. Still another document detailed the methods of police surveillance used against trade-union militants at Lip.

In the middle of the night of June 12-13, several hundred mobile guards and CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security



Lip workers general assembly, where decisions are made democratically.

offs

Corps) descended upon the factory to "free" the two managers. Several strikers were injured in the brutal attack, which was obviously designed to intimidate the workers.

In face of these provocations, the Lip personnel voted in general assembly the following day for an unlimited occupation of the factory "to safeguard our tools." Their demands were for 1) guaranteed jobs; 2) continued payment of wages; and 3) the staggering of vacations. The workers foresaw that if all of them were to leave for vacations as usual, they would most likely face a lockout when they returned.

As security, the workers took over a store of 65,000 watches worth \$2.5 million and hid them in Besançon. "These watches are being kept as our guaranty of employment," a spokesman for the workers told *New York Times* reporter Clyde Farnsworth. In general assembly June 18, the workers decided not to touch these watches, but to start up production again and sell the watches they produced to assure a living wage.

"They refuse to pay us our salaries? We're going to pay them ourselves," the workers declared. The decision was explained by union leaders as "self-defense, not self-management."

One assembly line was set in motion, and the Lip workers organized themselves into six commissions to carry out a long-term struggle. A production commission was responsible for producing the watches. A reception commission was set up to welcome and take care of visitors to the plant. A popularization commission set out to spread word about the Lip struggle and to appeal for solidarity from other workers. A sales commission and a management commission were set up to organize the sale of watches and the bookkeeping. And finally, a security and maintenance commission was set up to organize a twenty-four-hour defense guard for the factory and cleaning of the premises.

In response, the company accused the workers of theft and threatened to prosecute anyone buying Lip watches for receiving stolen goods. The workers answered: "Nothing we are doing can be considered illegal. These watches are the fruit of our work."

In a public statement denouncing "robbery" and "unauthorized sales," the company refused any negotiations until a stop was put to "social agitation." The company attempted to justify its plans for massive layoffs and dismantlement on the grounds of "increased financial burdens due, among other things, to losses resulting from the political developments of May '68 as well as obligations imposed on society in the social arena under the pressure of the same events."

On July 3 the capitalists of the province of Doubs, where Besançon is situated, proclaimed indignantly that "the errors of management at Lip do not give the personnel authority to take the law into their own hands."

The Lip workers answered this charge in the July 11 issue of *Lip Unité*, the information bulletin published by the popularization commission. The workers replied: "But the right to order layoffs, which exists

right now, gives the bosses the right to 'take the law into their own hands.' In fighting against dismantlement and layoffs, through effective forms of action that are decided collectively and are appropriate to the situation, we are exercising our legitimate right of defense."

On June 27 the women workers at Lip (they are more than half the work force) took to the streets in a special demonstration together with their children to emphasize the meaning of the threat of unemployment for their families.

Two days later, the company felt constrained to retreat a step. It agreed to pay the workers their vacation pay and bonus, hoping the strikers would leave the plant and the struggle would be diffused. But the workers decided to give up part of their vacations and stagger them so that 600 workers would always be present to continue production and sale of watches.

Meanwhile, after postponing a decision for week after week, the Besançon Tribunal of Commerce finally ruled July 13 on the company's application for bankruptcy. It declared liquidation of the enterprise, appointed a public trustee charged with taking an inventory, and authorized continued operation of the plant until December 31, 1973. The capitalist journal *Les Echos* publicly attacked the tribunal judge for "running away from his responsibilities" in legitimizing operation of the plant under workers control if only until December.

"In reality," wrote the weekly *Politique-Hebdo*, "this decision seems to be an exact measure of the relation-

ship of forces established around the exemplary struggle of Lip."

The Pompidou regime has also been forced to handle the Lip situation with kid gloves. Edgar Faure, president of the National Assembly, has made statements that the situation at Lip demonstrates that the workers are capable of "participation" in the running of a company.

French President Georges Pompidou stated July 19: "It is in the interests of everyone, including the workers, to arrive at an agreement. To make a business run, like it or not, you need money and you need workers. Thus it is necessary that the two have an understanding."

The unions at Lip replied in a public statement, pointing to the responsibility of the government "to make a rapid decision that will assure the potentialities of Lip in its entirety. It is imperative that there be no dismantlement of Lip, and that employment for all be guaranteed."

One union delegate, quoted in the July 20 issue of the Communist party daily *l'Humanité*, noted that "the government has to realize what the constant threat of unemployment means to a worker and his family."

One solution that the government has put forward as a way of diffusing the explosive example set by the Lip workers is a proposal that the workers take over the factory as shareholders in a cooperative. The workers have rejected this. A statement by the CFDT explains: "We are not going to fall into that trap. . . . We would soon be stuck in the contradictions of the capitalist system and could easily

be strangled in the economic arena."

Another statement by the unions states, "We are struggling against capitalism; we don't want to become capitalists."

On July 18 the workers delegates announced their refusal to fill an order for 30,000 watches from a Kuwait businessman, even though it would have meant some \$75,000 in revenues. "We are not watch merchants and our aim is not to deal with businessmen who would retail our watches at a profit," stated the workers representatives, quoted in the July 19 *Le Monde*.

The Lip section of the CFDT and the Action Committee (a volunteer body made up of both unionized and nonunionized militants in the factory) drew up a manifesto which was approved by the workers in general assembly. Addressed to "all workers," it outlines the perspectives of the struggle:

"[The Lip workers] have shown that the bosses are not indispensable and that the workers are capable of organizing themselves, on their own, even in the economic sphere (production and exchange of goods). It is not only the management of Lip that has been challenged, but the whole employer class. . . .

"Obviously at Lip we are in a privileged branch of production: The watch is a finished product that is quite easily sold. The action carried out here is not transposable, across the board, to all enterprises. Nevertheless, the method we are using, adapted to local circumstances, can be utilized in hundreds of factories.

"It is up to you to think this over, to collectively take the initiatives necessary to enlarge the breach made in the 'system' that imprisons us. . . .

"Our struggle can be an important gain for all workers, if tomorrow other attempts are made in the same direction, if we collectively think out our methods of action to make them most effective."

A first run of 150,000 copies of these manifestos are now being distributed throughout France. At the last minute the CP-led CGT refused to add its name to the document. The CGT bureaucrats felt the statement went too far in generalizing from the Lip workers' experience.

The CGT explained its position in a separate statement, belittling the importance of the methods used at Lip. "It is strange," says the CGT document, "that those in power and so-called revolutionary organizations

Continued on next page



Lip workers and supporters in Besançon demonstrating against layoffs.

Daniel Montibelli



In this old bus, Lip workers toured the region surrounding the factory to explain their struggle to other workers and request their support.

Daniel Montibelli

UN condemns act of piracy

Israeli skyjack fails to capture Palestinian leaders

By Caroline Lund

The Israeli government's recent hijacking of a Middle East Airlines plane struck a new high in terms of unabashed aggression against the Palestinian resistance movement. After years of attempting to brand the Palestinian liberation fighters as terrorists and international outlaws, the Zionist regime carried out the first skyjacking officially ordered by a government.

The act was so blatant, and world reaction against Israel so strong, that even Washington felt compelled to verbally dissociate itself from the too-crude tactics of its client state. On Aug. 15, U.S. representative John Scali joined in the 15-0 vote of the United Nations Security Council to censure Israel's violation of international law.

The resolution of censure went further than past motions in that it threatened "adequate steps or measures" if Israel does not stop carrying out "such acts." Also, the resolution did not contain the usual charges of so-called Arab terrorism to "balance" its condemnation of Israel.

The air piracy was the latest atrocity



HABASH: 'It's time for public opinion to know who are actually the terrorists.'

in the Israeli government's stepped-up terror campaign government against the Palestinian resistance movement. Last February, Israeli jet fighters shot down a Libyan civilian airliner, killing

108 persons. In April, Israeli commandos executed a raid on the homes of Palestinian resistance fighters in Beirut, assassinating three leaders in their beds.

The Aug. 10 hijacking was aimed at capturing four top leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, including George Habash, head of the organization. Fortunately, the four had canceled their reservations at the last minute and thus escaped kidnapping or death.

Just after the Middle East Airlines plane had taken off from Beirut on a scheduled flight to Baghdad, it was surrounded by four Israeli fighters and forced to land at a military airfield in Israel. Heavily armed Israeli soldiers forced the 81 passengers out of the plane at gunpoint and questioned them for two hours before allowing the plane to return to Beirut.

The soldiers demanded to know if any of the passengers were Palestinians, reported Iraqi Minister of Planning Jawad Hashem, who was a passenger. "They asked me if I were a guerrilla," he said.

In response to the skyjacking, Lebanon called for a meeting of the UN Security Council, asking that it confront the "arrogant challenge" of

the Israeli regime and Israel's "defiance of the United Nations and international law." The U.S. representative immediately made clear that Washington would veto any resolution calling for economic sanctions against Israel.

Even in voting for the final resolution, U.S. delegate Scali took pains to assure the Zionist regime that his vote "in no way represents a change in my Government's views on the problems and possibilities for a solution in the Middle East"—that is, U.S. backing of Israel against the just claims of the dispossessed Palestinians.

Lebanon has also made a formal request for the expulsion of Israel from the International Civil Aviation Organization, an agency of the UN. Even the Israeli Airline Pilots' Association has publicly announced its opposition to the piracy operation.

In an Aug. 13 statement, Dr. George Habash of the PFLP told reporters that his organization had ceased all hijackings, "But Israel, which was condemning us all the time, is practicing it now."

"It is time for world opinion to know who actually are the terrorists," Habash stated.

...Workers control in French watch factory

Continued from preceding page

join together in amazement that the workers of Lip prove the capacity of self-management. . . . It is not a question of mindlessly copying forms of struggle which, while positive in a given situation, could prove to be not so good, and even detrimental, in other cases."

Despite its wishes, however, the CP is powerless to keep the example of Lip from inspiring workers throughout France. The continued involvement of the rank-and-file Lip workers, despite the many weeks of struggle, testifies to the depth of sentiment behind the workers' demands.

For example, one worker told a reporter from the revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge* about the long hours many workers put in for the struggle: "There are guys who work during the day and also take part in the night guard, in the weekend guard, etc. For example, last Saturday and Sunday I stayed about fifteen hours in the factory. That doesn't keep me from coming back today."

"And then, you don't stay only in the shops; there are discussions. You have to keep on top of things. You go to meetings; you go to see the guys from the Action Committee, etc. "This is why I am ready to do work that I would refuse to do in normal times."

The struggle by the Lip workers for economic demands has taken on many aspects of a social movement. The workers have organized a whole program of social events to help maintain the solidarity and morale of the strikers, including presentation of theater performances, singers, and films.

General assemblies are held daily, where reports from the commissions are heard and important decisions made.

A child-care center has been set up for children of the workers, and volunteers from Besançon are asked to help staff it.

The factory has been opened up to all visitors who solidarize with the struggle, and every care is taken to welcome them and inform them about the situation. The reception area contains photographic displays showing the course of the fight, long bulletin boards containing messages and telegrams of solidarity from workers all over the world, displays of press coverage, and a large board containing the latest financial situation of the factory and of the solidarity fund.

A refreshment area has been set up especially for visitors. The factory premises are kept cleaner than ever before. The production workers have found that they can produce in four hours under workers control what they did in nine hours under the boss.

What will be the outcome of the Lip struggle? According to Daniel Montibelli, a CFDT member in charge of press relations for the popularization commission, the workers would consider it a victory, and would turn over the factory, if a new capitalist would sign a written agreement to their demands: No dismantlement, guaranteed jobs for all 1,300 workers, and maintenance of all other gains—such as the sliding scale of wages—won in the past.

Asked what he thought about the demand for nationalization of the factory under workers control as a way to

legitimize the current situation, Montibelli felt that, of course, that would be best, but it was "only a hope, with not much chance of achievement." If Lip were nationalized under workers control, he said, "then all the workers of France would want the same thing."

The July 20 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper put out by French Trotskyists, set forth the revolutionary-Marxist solution to the Lip "problem":

"In fact, there can be no good employer or good manager that will not raise the question of profits. Administrators can be changed and bankruptcy can be declared, but the financial problems of distribution and profitability remain. What's more, promises of guaranteeing employment can al-

ways be made, papers can be signed; it makes no difference. The capitalists will not hesitate to violate their own legality when their interests are at stake. So? Will the workers have to bear the costs of profitability, of the deficit? Not at all.

"Under the existing conditions, why won't the government take over the Lip business, with the workers keeping charge of the management and of working conditions? Nationalization of Lip under workers control is the only avenue that would allow for guaranteeing both employment and the other gains of the struggle. And what's more, it is the only realistic thing to do."

Intercontinental Press

THE COMING CONFRONTATION

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

For the answers read *Intercontinental Press*, the only English-language weekly magazine that specializes on news and analysis of revolutionary struggles from Canada to Chile and all around the world.

Intercontinental Press: A socialist antidote to the lies of the capitalist media.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

() Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

Socialist Workers Party holds 25th national convention; 1,450 attend

By ANDY ROSE

More than 1,400 delegates and observers attended the twenty-fifth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held Aug. 5-11 in Ohio.

The week-long gathering attested to the SWP's steady gains in membership and influence, and also its geographical expansion. For example, representatives attended from SWP organizing committees in St. Louis and Pittsburgh, where, it was reported, new party branches will soon be chartered.

The enthusiasm of all the convention proceedings reflected the party's involvement in actions on every front of the class struggle, and the favorable prospects foreseen for further growth of the socialist movement.

Most of the convention reports and discussion concerned questions of program and strategy now being discussed in the Fourth International. The first session was devoted to the revolutionary movement in Latin America, focusing on developments in Argentina and Bolivia.

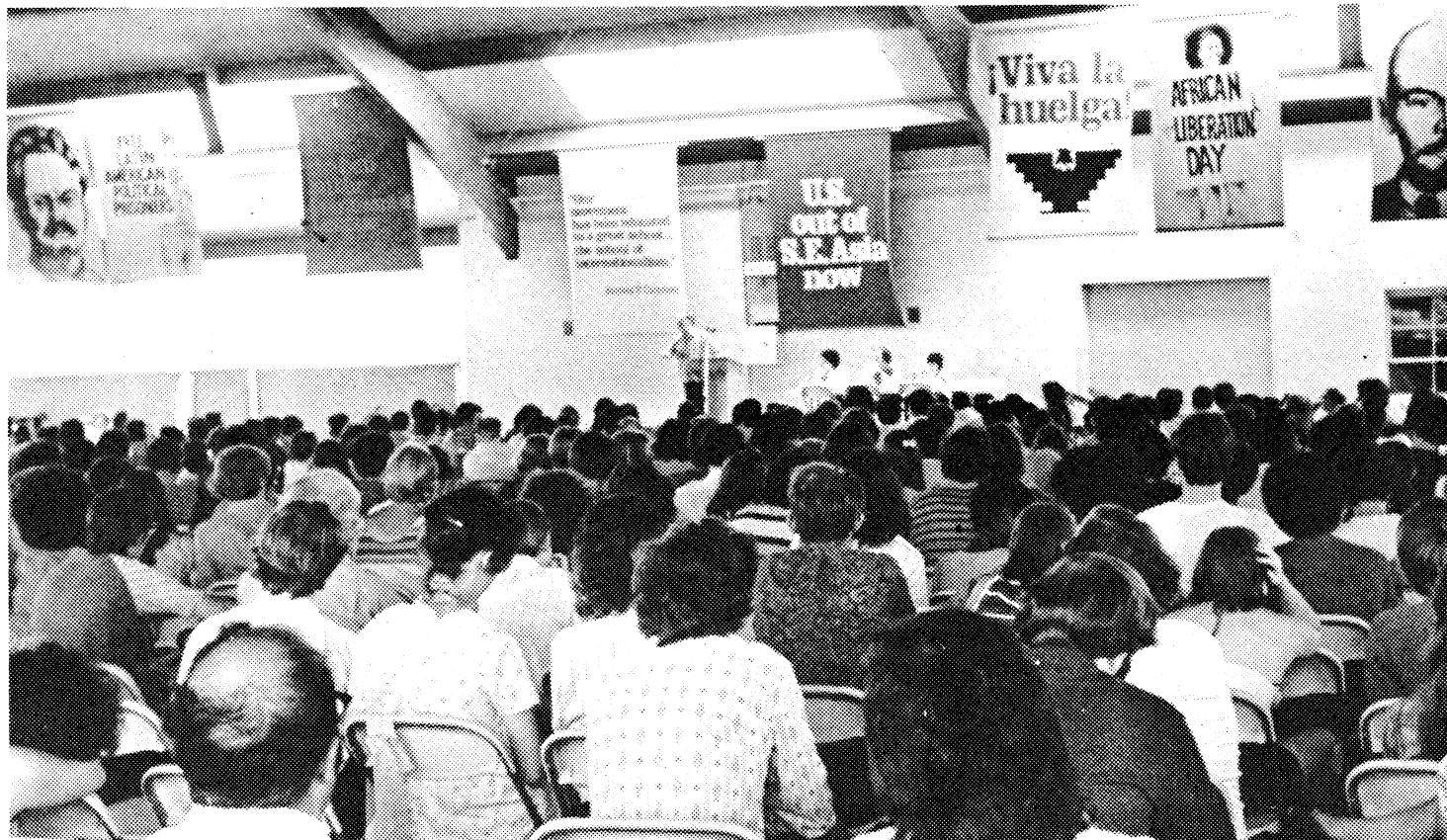
Defense of the Vietnamese revolution has been a cornerstone of the SWP's activity for the past decade, and a lengthy discussion was held on the Paris peace accords and recent events in Southeast Asia, the nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party, and the lessons of building the international antiwar movement.

Another session dealt with building revolutionary parties in Western Europe, where the upturn in the class struggle poses new opportunities and new challenges to the Trotskyist parties and groups there.

Following the international discussion, the convention assessed the current political situation in the U. S. and decided on the activities of the SWP for the period ahead.

A thorough discussion

The national convention, which is the highest decision-making body of the Socialist Workers Party, was the culmination of a three-month period of intense political discussion. All members of the SWP had the opportunity to contribute articles and resolutions on any topic to the SWP internal discussion bulletin. Thirty-five bulletins, containing 240 articles—totaling more



Hundreds of socialists, including many international guests, gathered for reports, discussions, panels, and workshops at SWP national convention.

Militant/Howard Petrick

than 1.5 million words!—were printed. Discussions and debates were organized in each SWP branch, often two or three times a week, during the pre-convention period.

Several minority tendencies presented political positions opposing those of the outgoing National Committee and Political Committee.

At the end of the pre-convention discussion, each SWP branch voted on the resolutions and elected delegates based on the number of votes for the differing political perspectives. Three delegates out of a total of 75 were elected representing minority tendencies.

Then at the convention sessions the delegates from all around the country held further discussions, attempting to convince each other of their views. The overwhelming majority voted to support the resolutions and reports presented by the outgoing national leadership.

National Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard reported on the political resolution prepared by the outgoing Political Committee. The resolution examines such developments as Washington's détente with Peking and Moscow, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, the new economic situation, and the Watergate revelations. It concludes that radical ideas and moods are spreading to ever-wider sections of the population, although there has been a temporary decline in protest activity.

The political resolution states: "The central contradiction of the radicalization remains the fact that large sections of the labor movement have yet to take the road of independent political struggles." This contradiction retards the independent movements of Blacks, students, women, and other groups, and has in fact contributed to the current downturn in activity in some of these movements.

However, new upsurges, including upsurges of the working class, are inevitably being generated by the same process that first spurred the radicalization—that is, the clash between the social and economic needs of the masses of people and the profit-based func-

tioning of the capitalist system, which is increasingly incapable of meeting those needs. The depth of public distrust in the capitalist government can be seen in the reaction to the Watergate affair, which itself has further deepened the radicalization.

The organization report, presented by Lew Jones, projected the major tasks of the SWP, which fall into two categories: first, continuing to support and build actions around a wide variety of issues, many of them of a local rather than national scope at this time; and second, launching a large-scale campaign to reach people with socialist ideas and win new adherents to the revolutionary movement.

In addition to the regular convention sessions, major panels were held on the SWP's participation in the trade union, Black, and women's movements. And 27 smaller panels and workshops mapped out implementation of other aspects of party work.

One important area of activity will be exposing the continued U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and organizing protests against it. The SWP will be in the forefront of defending the Vietnamese revolution, including exposing the betrayal by Moscow and Peking. However, the convention noted that the signing of the Paris accords and the withdrawal of most U.S. troops from Vietnam objectively rule out antiwar demonstrations on the same massive scale as in previous years.

The organization report and trade union panel pointed to some new opportunities for the SWP's participation in the trade unions. Helping to organize support for the United Farm Workers Union, under attack from the grape growers and Teamsters union bureaucracy, was singled out as a major task for every branch.

"The UFW," Jones said, "is a product of the radicalization, closely tied to the Chicano movement. This attack is a challenge to the unions, to the Chicano movement, and to the entire left." The convention decided that SWP members should work to get their unions to support the UFW, partici-

pate in picket lines and rallies, and support the boycott of scab lettuce and grapes.

Trade-union program

Driven by the need to improve their competitive position in relation to Japanese and Western European capitalism, the U. S. capitalists have sharply attacked the living standards of American workers. While prices are rising at record-breaking rates, wages have been held down by government controls since August 1971. Anger against high prices has resulted in protests developing outside the unions, like the meat boycott last April.

But the present union leadership has utterly failed to defend the workers against inflation, unemployment, and speedup. The main job of the SWP in the unions is to get out its program for an effective fight around these issues. This program includes calling for mobilizing the power of the unions around demands for the cost-of-living escalator clause in all contracts as protection against inflation, an end to wage controls, for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to end unemployment, and for an end to war spending.

SWP election campaigns and *Militant* sales are good ways to popularize this program for the unions. Delegates from Oakland and Berkeley, Calif., reported that their branch has organized regular *Militant* sales at 17 plants and other workplaces in the area and sells about 100 copies each week at these locations.

The trade-union panel heard reports on the activities of SWP members in the Teachers union, Social Service Union, Steelworkers union, Typographical union, and other unions. It was pointed out that many issues originating outside the unions are of interest to workers and provide new openings for union work. Examples cited were protests against police brutality, struggles for Black control of Black schools in relation to the Teachers union, and support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Branches have also been involved

Continued on page 15

Convention largest ever

The total attendance of 1,478 at the recent SWP convention made it the largest ever held. By comparison, the previous convention, held in 1971, was attended by about 1,100 people, while the 1969 convention drew 660.

Convention participants came from 27 states. Some of the largest groups were 301 from New York, 220 from California, 88 from Massachusetts, 88 from Illinois, and 77 from Texas. In addition, observers were present from many foreign countries.

Of those present at the convention:

- 44 percent were women;
- 55 percent were under 25 years of age;
- Members of 55 trade unions were present;
- 38 percent were attending their first SWP convention.

SWP convention

Discussions focus on issues before international revolutionary movement

By CAROLINE LUND

The banner behind the speakers podium summarized the theme of the 1973 Socialist Workers Party convention: "Our movement has been educated in a great school—the school of internationalism."

This statement by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the SWP, expressed the party's view that international solidarity must be the cornerstone of a revolutionary party—especially for the revolutionary movement in the heartland of U.S. imperialism. The vast reach of U.S. imperialist domination means that virtually all struggles and revolutionary gains throughout the world are threatened by it. This imposes a special obligation

all affiliated and sympathizing organizations.

Although the SWP is prevented by the reactionary Voorhis Act from belonging to the Fourth International, it is in political solidarity with the International and participates actively in the international discussion as a fraternal organization.

First on the agenda of the convention discussion was the question of revolutionary perspectives and strategy in Latin America. The debated dealt with such questions as whether the model of the Cuban revolution can be repeated in Latin America, the balance sheet of guerrilla struggles on the continent, and the lessons to be learned from the mass peasant struggles led by Hugo Blanco in Peru in the early 1960s.

The report summarizing the thinking of the outgoing SWP Political Committee was given by Peter Camejo. Equal time on this and other points on the agenda was granted to representatives of several delegates holding a minority view.

Camejo pointed out that the discussion on Latin America was especially important because the perspectives of Trotskyist forces there—particularly in Bolivia and Argentina—have been tested under the fire of prerevolutionary situations over the past four years.

A question-and-answer panel was held to provide more detailed information on the work of Trotskyist forces in Argentina and Chile. Those attending the panel were especially interested in hearing of the experiences of the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—PST). The PST has promoted and identified itself with the developing class-struggle left wing in the Argentine trade unions.

As a result of its stand in the last Argentine elections, the PST recruited hundreds of young revolutionists. The PST was the only force on the left to oppose both Perón and the military dictatorship with a working-class, socialist alternative. It ran Juan Carlos Coral for president and some 2,000 trade-union leaders for offices throughout the country. The PST is now preparing to run candidates against Perón in the new elections that have just been called.

While lively debate occurred over the questions of revolutionary strategy in Latin America, all delegates and international observers alike were united in their determination to be in the forefront of opposition to intervention by U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Delegates cited the long history of U.S. aggression, including the blockade of Cuba, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the U.S. occupation of Santo Domingo, the ITT-CIA intervention in Chile, and U.S. backing

of dictatorial regimes throughout the continent.

A separate panel discussion was led by SWP members who are active in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The SWP has been a consistent supporter of USLA's activities. The panel gave participants an overview of USLA's current campaign against torture and repression by the U.S.-backed regime in Brazil.

Mary-Alice Waters presented the report for the Political Committee dealing with perspectives for the revolutionary socialist movement in the capitalist countries in Europe. This discussion assessed the continued deepening of worker and student upsurges in Western Europe since May 1968.

An important related question is the strategy and tactics of revolutionary parties in leading the workers movement in defending itself against growing attacks from company goons, racist and fascist groups, and the police. This problem has been dramatically posed in France, where the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, was banned for organizing an anti-fascist demonstration.

In the convention discussion, delegate Charles Scheer, a longtime SWP leader, described to the predominantly young gathering how the SWP had organized successful mass mobilizations against groups of fascist thugs that arose in 1939 and 1946 in the U.S.

The convention voted to send a message of solidarity to Pierre Rousset, a former leader of the Communist League who is still being held in prison by the Pompidou regime in connection with the League's role in the demonstration against the fascist meeting. In addition, a separate organizing meeting was held to plan continued activities in support of the international campaign against the ban on the Communist League.

The third major international topic of discussion was Vietnam and the antiwar movement. The report by Gus



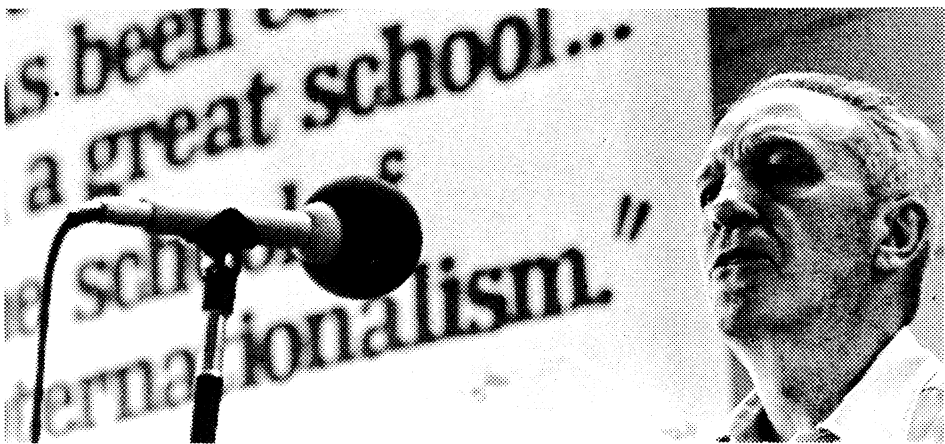
Militant/Howard Petrick

MARY-ALICE WATERS: Reported on questions facing socialists in Europe.

Horowitz for the Political Committee drew a balance sheet of the key role played by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, and of the Fourth International supporters throughout the world, in building the mass antiwar actions that helped limit the options of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Another topic of debate was the extent of pressure and influence of Stalinism on the leadership of the Vietnamese struggle.

Representatives of each branch of the SWP met during the convention for a more thorough discussion of concrete possibilities for antiwar organizing today, including plans for actions in the event the congressional bombing ban is violated in Cambodia. The participants also discussed the possibilities for working with other groups on the questions of amnesty for draft resisters and deserters as well as demanding freedom for political prisoners held by the Saigon regime.

Special panel discussions were also organized on the situation in Ireland and the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe.



Militant/Howard Petrick

FARRELL DOBBS: Longtime SWP leader spoke on history of world Trotskyist movement.

Literature sales high

The debates and discussion at the SWP convention evidently whetted appetites for Marxist literature. Pathfinder Press, a major publisher of socialist books and pamphlets, sold more than \$5,700 worth of literature from a table they set up at the convention. Pathfinder reports this was the largest volume of sales they have ever had at a single gathering.

The top seller was the recently released book *Speeches to the Party* by James P. Cannon. Every one of the 600 copies taken to the convention was sold. The other best sellers were also new books from Pathfinder: *Teamster Power* by Farrell Dobbs, 256 copies; and the new edition of *The Case of the Legless Veteran* by James Kutcher, 204 copies.

Convention participants also bought a total of about \$5,500 in SWP discussion bulletins and \$500 in Education for Socialists bulletins.

tion on revolutionists within the U.S. to fight this monster from an internationalist perspective.

Four days of the six and a half day convention were devoted to debate and discussion of international questions. The deliberations were enriched by the contributions from observers who attended the convention from revolutionary socialist organizations on six continents.

Many of the questions taken up at the convention are also presently under discussion within the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party founded by Leon Trotsky. This international discussion is conducted through an internal bulletin open to

Young Socialist leaders report plans

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, presented a report to the Socialist Workers Party convention on behalf of the YSA national leadership, describing the YSA's achievements and perspectives. His report described the fall plans of the YSA as decided by its National Committee meeting last June and amplified by a brief National Committee plenum shortly before the SWP convention.

Pulley described the role the YSA has played in struggles of campus

and high school students, noting that these have not been stopped by the frequent media proclamations that students have returned to the conservatism of the 1950s.

A major accomplishment of the YSA during the last year, Pulley said, was relaunching the *Young Socialist* as the monthly newspaper of the YSA. On the heels of a successful spring sales drive, the YS has been expanded from 16 to 20 pages. The newspaper plans a fall

sales drive with the goal of 10,000 copies sold each month.

Young Socialist sales to high school students will be key to a major effort by the YSA this fall to establish a stronger base in the high schools. Another side of this effort will be organizing high school student support for the SWP 1973 and 1974 election campaigns.

Pulley said the YSA also plans to extend its influence in much the same way to more city and community colleges, many of which are

predominantly Black.

Another aspect of the YSA's work stressed by Pulley was regional expansion. He said the YSA will field 12 traveling Young Socialist teams this fall to visit campuses across the country, selling the *Young Socialist* and subscriptions to *The Militant*, and recruiting new members to the YSA. The teams will also encourage attendance at the Young Socialist national convention, scheduled for Chicago, Dec. 28 through Jan. 1.

More election campaigns, Militant sales Socialists map plans for expansion

"Our aim will be to reach the widest possible audience with our socialist program offering solutions to the problems facing working people and all the oppressed," said Lew Jones in the organization report adopted by the recent Socialist Workers Party convention.

His report presented a detailed proposal for accomplishing this goal through three sets of activities that will be major campaigns of the SWP in the period ahead.

First is a drive for sales and subscriptions to the revolutionary press. The forty-fifth anniversary of *The Militant* will be commemorated with an ambitious circulation drive. Jones noted that last fall *The Militant* completed the largest subscription drive in its history, obtaining more than 35,000 new readers in nine weeks, while last spring a successful single-copy sales drive pushed average weekly street sales from about 3,500 to between 6,000 and 7,000. This fall's campaign will combine both the subscription and sales aspects of *Militant* circulation.



MACEO DIXON: SWP candidate for mayor of Detroit. Convention decided to step up socialist campaigns in the 1973 and '74 elections.

"Our sales goal," Jones said, "will be street sales of 9,500 to 10,000 copies of *The Militant* every week. In addition to continuing high sales on the campuses, we want to increase sales in the Black community, at plant gates, and at other locations where we can reach large numbers of working people."

At the same time, a drive will be conducted to sell 15,000 introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* and 2,500 subs to the monthly *International Socialist Review*. Most of these will be obtained on two "Militant Blitz Weekends"—when supporters of *The Militant* all over the country will mobilize to sell subs—and by two sub teams and 12 Young Socialist teams that will be on the road this fall. The "Blitz Weekends" are set for the last weekends in September and October.

The monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper has also announced a fall sales drive to reach 10,000 monthly sales.

Socialist election campaigns are the second aspect of the fall effort to reach people with socialist ideas. Jones called the 1973 municipal campaigns of the SWP "the most successful the party has ever run." These have been particularly valuable, he said, in expressing the SWP's position on many issues of local concern. In Atlanta, for example, the campaign of Debby Bustin for mayor has helped publicize the demands of striking Black workers and in turn won support from many of them.

Jones pointed out that the San Diego SWP's campaign in a special state assembly election this spring, followed by a campaign for city offices, helped establish the party as a political force in that city.

This fall, he said, the municipal campaigns will go into high gear as the elections approach. At the same time, SWP branches will be announcing their slates for the 1974 races, in which all congressional seats, a third of the senate, and many gubernatorial and

other state offices will be open.

The political resolution adopted by the convention states: "If the meat boycott demonstrated that the credibility gap which developed during the Vietnam war still exists, the Watergate scandal is widening that gap to a canyon. With each new revelation of the methods of rule of the capitalist class, distrust of the government intensifies."

This growing crisis of confidence in bourgeois rule forms the basis for the third aspect of the SWP's fall campaign. The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have filed suit against the government, challenging its buggings, break-ins, mail spying, infiltration, and other Watergate-style attacks on the SWP and its supporters.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has been established to publicize the suit and raise funds for the legal costs. The SWP convention voted

to support PRDF and aid its efforts. By taking the initiative to build a broad civil liberties campaign uniting all those who support the SWP's democratic rights, regardless of whether they agree with the program of the SWP, the party hopes to set an example for the entire working class of how to take the offensive against the government's secret-police operations.

Alongside support to the PRDF, the SWP will carry out its own educational campaign to explain why the anti-democratic practices symbolized by Watergate are a necessary part of capitalist class rule.

"Carrying out this complex of socialist propaganda activities, tied in with our participation in day-to-day struggles," Jones concluded, "will enable us to present our ideas to wide layers of people and help recruit to the SWP."

Rally launches Militant drive

"The Militant—45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism" was the theme of a spirited rally Friday evening, Aug. 10, winding up the SWP convention.

Harry Ring, former *Militant* editor and current chief of the paper's Southwest Bureau, chaired the rally. The first speaker was *Militant* Business Manager Sharon Cabaniss, who explained the goals of the forty-fifth anniversary campaign—boosting weekly *Militant* sales to more than 9,500 and obtaining 15,000 new subscribers.

Cabaniss also explained that a special fund has been established to raise \$20,000 as part of the campaign. This money is needed to finance the expenses of two *Militant* subscription teams and 12 Young Socialist teams that will tour the country this fall, introducing thousands of new readers to the revolutionary press.

Other speakers were SWP leader Fred Halstead and Jacquie Henderson, a leader of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière of Canada.

Norman Oliver, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member and SWP candidate for mayor of New York City, appealed for donations to the Militant Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund. The enthusiastic crowd responded with contributions totaling more than \$12,000 to kick off the fund.

Oliver displayed an attractively printed and bound volume of 45 *Militant* front pages, one from each year of the paper's history, and explained that each contributor of \$45 or more would receive a commemorative volume.

Contributions to the Militant Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund should be sent to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

... 25th nat'l SWP convention

Continued from page 13

in strike support activities, for example, supporting the recent oil workers' strike in Houston.

The convention reaffirmed the SWP's positions of support to Black nationalism and advocacy of a mass Black political party as a break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It also reaffirmed the party's view that the coming American revolution will have a combined character as both a working-class revolution for socialism and a revolution by Blacks for self-determination.

Derrick Morrison presented an extensive panel report analyzing the current stage of the Black struggle in the face of the worsening conditions in the Black community. He said, "The Black liberation struggle has been and continues to be marked by a decline in activity as compared to the upsurge of 1967-69."

He attributed this decline to the crisis of leadership in the struggle, the government's repression of some Black militants and co-optation of others, and the objective difficulty of dealing with the deep-rooted social problems of the Black community when the masses of white workers have yet to enter the radicalization.

However, Morrison said, "struggles

continue to break out, mostly sporadic but sometimes of a sustained character." Among the examples he cited were the Black student strike at Southern University last fall, protests by Black sailors, actions against cutbacks in social services, and defense campaigns for victimized militants.

Several speakers from Atlanta pointed to the significance of a series of recent strikes by Black workers there. The Atlanta SWP election campaign has supported and publicized the demands of the strikers.

In addition, a number of participants in the panel had been activists in the coalitions that built the May 26 African Liberation Day demonstrations. They explained the potential for continuing protests against U.S. complicity with the oppression of southern Africa, and the necessity for a non-exclusionary approach in building such actions.

Convention delegates from New York City also reported on the struggles by Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese for community control of the schools in District 1, in which the SWP has been active.

Linda Jenness presented the main report to the panel on women's liberation. "Although the Supreme Court decision in January was a tremendous

victory," she said, "the fight for legal, available abortions is not over." She described the efforts by right-wing "right-to-life" forces to maintain or reimpose restrictions on abortion, and stressed the importance of combating these attacks.

She also discussed other struggles by women that the SWP has been involved in, such as defense of child-care facilities against cutbacks in funds, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, struggles by women workers for equal pay and job opportunities, and campus struggles against sex discrimination.

Carole Seligman from San Francisco and Lisa Potash from Portland spoke on the child-care actions that have taken place in those cities. Ruthann Miller described efforts to unionize women workers at Columbia University in New York, and other speakers also indicated the diversity of local issues in the women's movement.

Jenness said that "although the organized women's liberation movement has been in a relative downturn, the impact of feminism on the American consciousness is greater today than ever before." The spread of women's liberation ideas has made masses of women more willing to assert their rights and take action around issues

they see as important. This is shown by the role of women in the consumer protests and by conferences of trade-union women and Black women.

The convention saw an extensive exchange of views on the significance and potential of the gay liberation movement. The SWP's position is one of full support to the struggles of gay people for their civil and human rights.

The final order of business for the convention was the election of the National Committee, the highest leadership body of the party between conventions. A number of younger party leaders were newly elected to the National Committee by this convention. They included members active in many facets of the party's work, from the Black struggle to the trade unions to internal party-building activities.

This convention of the SWP registered important gains for the party in several respects: in understanding the world political situation and the problems of the international revolutionary movement; in analyzing concretely the development of the radicalization in the U.S.; and in preparing the party to move forward through involvement in the class struggle as it unfolds in the period immediately ahead.

Black feminists form national organization

BY LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK — The National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) announced its formation and laid plans for an eastern regional conference at a recent press conference in New York.

Speaking at the press conference Aug. 15 were Margaret Sloan, an editor of *Ms.* magazine; Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City Human Rights Commissioner; and Doris Wright of the National Organization for Women. Statements of support were read from Florynce Kennedy, founder of the Feminist Party; State Senator Wynona Lipman from Newark, New Jersey; Aileen Hernandez, former president of NOW; and Gloria Steinem, an editor of *Ms.*

The NBFO was initially formed last May by a small group of Black women "to work on the specific areas of oppression that affect the lives of over one half the Black people in this country — Black women."

Margaret Sloan told the press that

"Black women have suffered cruelly in this society from living the phenomenon of being Black and female, in a country that is both racist and sexist."

"It has been hard," she continued, "for Black women to emerge from the myriad of distorted images that have portrayed us as grinning Beulahs, castrating Sapphires, and pancakebox Jemimas. As Black feminists, we realized the need to establish ourselves as an independent Black feminist organization."

Sloan stated that the eastern regional conference, to be held in New York in late November, will be "the first time Black women will come together under the feminist banner. We have been so divided for so long that that in and of itself is revolutionary."

Aileen Hernandez's statement pointed to efforts by the press to pit the Black and feminist struggles against one another. "In fact," her message read, "sometimes I believe there is a conspiracy on the part of the media

to downplay the linkage between those who fight racism, those who fight sexism, and the increasing number of persons who recognize the need for fighting both. The potential force of the combination of both movements is probably too frightening to contemplate."

State Senator Wynona Lipman sent a telegram to the press conference stating that such an organization of Black women "is long overdue." Gloria Steinem called on women of all races to support the new organization.

Eleanor Holmes Norton called the formation of NBFO "historic." "In a time when everyone else is standing up," she said, "Black women must stand up also."

It was pointed out that recent opinion polls, one sponsored by Virginia Slims and another by *Parade* magazine, have shown Black women even more in favor of women's liberation issues than white women.

Sloan added that the new organiza-

tion would add "enormous credibility to the current women's liberation movement" and at the same time strengthen the "efforts of the Black liberation struggle by encouraging all of the talents and creativities of Black women."



Militant/Norman Oliver

Eleanor Holmes Norton and Margaret Sloan announce formation of National Black Feminist Organization.

Houston women fight for abortion clinic

By GENE LANTZ

HOUSTON — The women of Houston recently won an important victory against anti-abortion "right-to-life" forces and the all-male Harris County Commissioners Court.

Earlier in the summer the commissioners had deleted a \$90,000 appropriation budgeted for a low-cost abortion clinic. A broad coalition of women's groups—spearheaded by the Houston Women's Abortion Coalition, the National Organization for Women, the Harris County Women's Political

Caucus, and Houston Women's Equity Action League—mobilized last month to defeat this challenge to the newly won right to abortion.

A massive phoning campaign and a quickly organized news conference focused public sentiment against the budget ruling. The abortion rights groups called on women and men in Harris County to show up at the next Commissioners Court meeting to demand a reversal of the decision.

The women's organizations were particularly angered by the remarks

of one commissioner, who told reporters, "I don't believe people ought to be able to go out and play and not be responsible for their actions. I don't want them to just be able to line up for abortions."

The showdown took place at the July 12 County Commissioners Court meeting. Here's how the *Houston Post* described it: "Like an Army recovering from a defeat, Houston's 'pro-abortion' forces rallied Thursday to march on Commissioners Court and it appeared they might win their battle. With placards, speeches, and a promise of a law suit, they challenged the action of the Court last week in cutting a \$90,000 abortion clinic from the 1973-74 Harris County Hospital Budget."

When they arrived at the meeting, abortion rights forces found that a "right-to-life" group, 50 or 60 strong, had already filled the front rows of seats. Twelve anti-abortion speakers addressed the Court with emotional appeals to end or limit abortion rights. Thirteen speakers spoke in support of the abortion clinic for the poor.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for Houston school board, Kris Vasquez, said that the present situation eliminates all possibilities of legal abortion for poor women, especially for Chicanas and Blacks. She pointed out that most of the women who die from illegal abortions belong to minority groups.

State representatives Ron Waters and Woody Denson and leaders from

the groups organizing the protest spoke in favor of funding the walk-in abortion clinic. Diane Van Heldon, an ACLU attorney, said she believed the commissioners' decision was inconsistent with the law, and that the ACLU was prepared to take it to court.

The commissioners at first refused to reconsider their position. The day after the meeting, however, they told local reporters that the clinic would be restored. At the next Commissioners Court meeting, well attended by women's rights activists, the commissioners announced officially that the funds had been restored for the clinic.



Militant/Tom Vernier

Abortion rights groups in Houston pack a meeting room to demand reinstatement of funds for abortion clinic.



Militant/Tom Vernier

Kris Vasquez, SWP candidate for Houston school board, speaks in County Commissioners Court in support of walk-in abortion clinic.

'Maude's' right to have abortion defended

BY PAM BURCHETT

NEW YORK — A news conference and picket line took place here Aug. 17 in front of American Home Products Corporation. More than a dozen national and local abortion rights groups were protesting the fact that seven corporations withdrew sponsorship of two episodes of the television series "Maude."

The "Maude" show is a popular comedy. In last year's series two of the programs dealt with Maude's decision to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. The programs were scheduled for rerun on CBS on Aug. 14 and 22.

Under heavy pressure from the Catholic Church, American Home Products and six other companies refused to sponsor the reruns and forced

36 CBS affiliates to drop the shows.

Speaking at the news conference were representatives from the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), National Organization for Women (NOW), and Zero Population Growth.

Wilma Scott Heide, president of NOW, told reporters that "most American women and men of all faiths, all races, and all backgrounds now believe and practice the right of women to control our own bodies. Our numbers increase daily." She said it was "unconscionable" that American Home Products would withdraw sponsorship of a program "which attempts to present an issue of vital concern

to women."

"Abortion is now a reality for American women, a constitutional and a human right," declared Karen Stamm of WONAAC. "It can no longer be dealt with as it was so often in the past by brushing it under the rug, hushing it up, or clothing it in shameful secrecy. If those with an opposing view wish to make their opinions known, they should do so openly, in debate, or in other forms where efforts at suppression play no part."

Stamm said, "WONAAC supports Maude's and every other woman's right to choose an abortion, and the right of the public to watch 'Maude.'"

Lawrence Lader of NARAL told reporters that Catholic bishops "have set themselves up as the dictator of

what Americans shall hear and see on TV. . . . This display of raw power underestimates the strength of American women. They can meet power with power when their rights are trampled upon."

Lader then announced that a coalition of 10 national organizations will boycott the products of American Home Products and other companies "that have seen fit to join the Catholic bishops in this onslaught against freedom of the press."

All of the speakers denounced the blatant censorship involved and reminded the press that abortion is now a legal and constitutional right.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, participated in the picket line.

Third of a series

By TONY THOMAS

Distortions and outright lies are the basic elements used by Carl Davidson in constructing the apologetics for Stalinism and Maoism he wrote for the *Guardian* last spring.

Our last article on "The Guardian and Trotskyism" (*Militant*, July 27)

own class problems and win the national liberation of their country.

The major tasks confronting a revolution to win national liberation for China included driving out the imperialists and smashing the reactionary Chang Tso-lin government; unifying the country; distributing the big landholders' lands to the hundreds of millions of peasants; establishing demo-

ternational as an "associate party" early in 1926. Chiang Kai-shek was elected an honorary member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

It is this policy of supporting the national capitalist class, and holding up figures like Chiang Kai-shek as capable of leading the struggle for national liberation, that Davidson is defending when he defends the Com-

to the policy of a revolutionary bloc between the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie. In such [backward] countries this bloc can assume the form of a single party, a workers' and peasants' party, akin to the Kuomintang . . ." (*Problems of Leninism*.)

Class independence

Trotsky pointed out that Stalin did not invent this policy of supporting the national capitalists in the bourgeois-democratic revolution: he merely revived the policy advanced by the Mensheviks and opposed by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Lenin, for example, said this about the Russian revolution: "Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, the workers must support the bourgeoisie — say the worthless politicians from the camp of the liquidators. Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, say

The Guardian & Trotskyism

The real debate on China

showed how Davidson falsified Lenin's views on how oppressed nations could achieve liberation. Davidson's aim was to make Lenin appear to be a supporter of the Stalinist theory of two-stage revolution.

Davidson uses the same technique in his article "Trotskyism and China's Revolution," published in the April 18 *Guardian*. This article tries to defend Stalin's support to General Chiang Kai-shek and his capitalist Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party as the leadership of the Second Chinese Revolution in the 1920s—a policy that led to the defeat of the revolution.

China in the 1920s

In 1926 a dispute over strategy and tactics for the Chinese Communist Party broke out in the leadership of the Communist International between the Stalin-Bukharin faction and the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky.

At that time China was severely exploited by Western and Japanese imperialism. The imperialist powers controlled large portions of the country and had colonial "concessions" in major cities such as Canton and Shanghai. China's tariff and customs system was in the hands of the imperialists and their agents.

Most of the country, particularly northern China, was in the hands of the Chang Tso-lin regime. This regime based itself on the big landholders and on complete subordination to the foreign imperialists. In the southern section of China, a Kuomintang-led government based on the Chinese capitalists and middle-class elements held power.

The Kuomintang wanted to increase its own power by extracting concessions from the imperialists and landholders. Because of its more "militant" stance, the Kuomintang had more support among the Chinese workers and peasants. They viewed the Kuomintang as more likely to solve their

cratic liberties; and laying the groundwork for the industrialization and development of China. In addition to these democratic tasks affecting the nation as a whole, the growing working class in the cities was faced with vicious economic exploitation at the hands of both Chinese and foreign capitalists.

The debate within the leadership of the Comintern centered on how to solve these problems.

Stalin's position

The Stalin-Bukharin faction, which controlled the Comintern, insisted that the Chinese Communist Party must give uncritical support to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. In fact, over the protests of many of the Chinese Communist leaders, the Comintern ordered the CCP to dissolve and told its members to join the Kuomintang and submit to its discipline.

Davidson, who defends this policy, admits that the Kuomintang "represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie," that is, the Chinese capitalist class. He describes the position of the Comintern this way:

"... the Comintern's call during the 1920s [was] for a revolutionary 'bloc of four classes' in China. The 'bloc' was seen as a national united front of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The spearhead of the struggle was to be aimed at foreign imperialism."

Davidson falsely claims that the subordination of the CCP to the Kuomintang was essentially a united-front arrangement for joint struggle against common enemies. He writes that the "leading force" of this bloc "was to be the proletariat and its motive force was to be the agrarian revolution of the peasant masses against the feudal landlords." Davidson also lies when he claims that the Comintern leaders opposed the subordination of the CCP to the Kuomintang's capitalist leadership.

The real position of the Comintern under Stalin was that the Kuomintang could provide the leadership for the Chinese revolution. The Stalinists even said the Kuomintang—a capitalist party—could play the same role that the Bolshevik Party—a mass revolutionary workers party—had played in the Russian Revolution of 1917.

In January 1926, the presiding committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, controlled by Stalin, sent this message to the Second Congress of the Kuomintang:

"To our party has fallen the proud and historical role of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world. . . . We are convinced that the Kuomintang will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundation of the rule of the imperialists in Asia. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

Stalin went so far as to admit the Kuomintang into the Communist In-

tern's positions in the Second Chinese Revolution. And it was this policy of subordinating the Chinese revolution to the capitalists that Trotsky and the Left Opposition opposed.

Trotsky's position

Davidson writes: "Trotsky considered the 'bloc of four classes' counter-revolutionary and a manifestation of 'Menshevism' imposed in China by Stalin. In his view the struggle had to be spearheaded against the bourgeoisie as a whole. At the same time, he played down or dismissed entirely the feudal and imperialist targets of the revolution." In other words, Davidson claims Trotsky denied that the predominant character of the Chinese revolution was that of a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

He lies again. Trotsky wrote that the Chinese revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution and that national liberation was one of its central tasks. Trotsky did not oppose the Chinese Communists engaging in united-front-type blocs for specific actions with the Kuomintang or other bourgeois forces.

But Trotsky pointed out that the basis for such a bloc was "not allowing either the organizations or the banners to become mixed directly or indirectly for a single day or a single hour; it consists . . . in not believing for an instant in the capacity or readiness of the bourgeoisie to lead a genuine struggle against imperialism or not to obstruct the workers and peasants." (*Third International After Lenin*. Emphasis in original.)

Stalin, however, rejected such united-front alliances and took the position that the Kuomintang represented the interests of the workers and peasants. (This happens to contradict Davidson's admission that the Kuomintang was a capitalist party.) Stalin wrote: "The communists must pass from the policy of a united national front . . .



TROTSKY: Posed need for independent struggle for power by workers and peasants.

we who are Marxist. The workers must open the eyes of the people to the fraud of the bourgeois politicians, teach them not to place trust in promises and rely on their own forces, on their own organization, on their own unity, and on their own weapons alone."

Trotsky believed that in China as in Russia no bourgeois or petty-bourgeois force could lead the revolution: ". . . for the solution of the basic national tasks, not only the big bourgeoisie but also the petty bourgeoisie was incapable of producing a political force, a party, or faction, in conjunction with which the party of the proletariat might be able to solve the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The key to the situation lies precisely in the fact that the task of winning the movement of the poor peasants already fell entirely upon the shoulders of the proletariat, and directly upon the communist party; and that the approach to a genuine solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution necessitated the concentration of all power in the hands of the proletariat." (*Third International*—

Continued on page 22



CHIANG KAI-SHEK: Stalinized Communist International supported him as leader of the second Chinese revolution.



STALIN: Ordered Chinese Communist Party to submit to discipline of Chiang's bourgeois party, the Kuomintang.

By CAROLINE LUND

The following interview with Jiri Pelikan, a leading figure in the 1968 upsurge in Czechoslovakia, was obtained this spring, after Pelikan finished a short tour in the United States. He spoke to American audiences on the meaning of the '68 events, or the "Prague Spring," as they are sometimes referred to.

This month marks the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw pact troops to crush the rebellion.

Pelikan joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party as a 16-year-old student in 1939. He spent five years in underground work against the Nazi occupation of the country, living under false names and in prison. His mother was assassinated by the Nazis.

After the war he became secretary of the Communist Party student organization in Prague and later president of the International Union of Students.

From 1963 to 1968 Pelikan served as general director of Czechoslovak

television. The movement for the renaissance of socialism, known as the Prague Spring, was nothing other than an attempt by communists and socialists to solve this deep crisis by developing a socialist alternative. In fact, nobody advanced the idea that the factories and banks should be restored to private owners.

The main goal of the movement was to give workers and citizens a real influence over the economic and political development of their state; to transform the state ownership of factories, directed by a leading bureaucratic group, to a real collective ownership by the workers through forms of workers democracy, particularly by creating workers councils and other forms of self-government.

This socialist democracy cannot exist while there is only one party controlled by a leading group using democratic centralism for imposing its own discipline and rule. Therefore, we declared our intention to transform the political system into a pluralistic one with several political parties expressing the different interests of sections of the population and also different conceptions of socialist society.

At the same time, we were trying to transform the Communist Party itself in such a way that it would exercise its influence through just policies and new ideas—not through administrative measures. Also we wanted the possibility for differing opinions to be expressed within the party: giving a minority the chance to become a majority, but respecting the unity in action of the party.

Furthermore, the workers must have the possibility of defending themselves in case the state does not respect their rights. Therefore the autonomy of the trade unions must be guaranteed, as well as the autonomy of other organizations of the masses.

These were the main aims of the movement in 1968, which was just beginning and was interrupted by the Soviet invasion.

We do not deny that there were also some rightist trends and demands, as well as exaggeration in the mass media. But this was not characteristic at all. Opposition to socialism exists in all socialist countries in Eastern Europe. During 1968 this opposition in Czechoslovakia got a chance to express itself publicly. This didn't strengthen its influence; on the contrary, it only confirmed its isolation.

Q: What was the role of youth and students in the Prague Spring?

A: Young people are particularly sensitive to the contradiction between the ideals of socialism as a just society with equal rights and broader freedom, and the practice of Stalinism or neo-Stalinism.

Thus even before 1968 there was a series of discussions and demonstrations demanding the transformation of the one youth organization so that it could express the genuine demands and interests of different sections of the youth. The demonstration of students in November 1967, and its suppression by the police, was one of the explosive points of the Czechoslovak crisis. This crisis culminated in January 1968 with the replacement of Antonin Novotny with Alexander Dubcek as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

During the spring of 1968 the youth movement was reorganized in several new organizations—the union of students, union of workers, peasants, pioneers, etc.—each autonomous but working together in one federation.

Young people and students supported the new course and the leadership of Dubcek, but with a critical attitude, demanding more radical reforms. I would say that during the Prague Spring young people for the first time had an opportunity to participate in political life, and they demonstrated a great degree of consciousness and

maturity. They were among the strongest opponents of the Soviet intervention and the return of the neo-Stalinist elements to the leadership. I have only to mention the great student strike in November 1968, the tragic gesture of protest of Jan Palach in January 1969, and the subsequent demonstration of students and young people, joined by workers and a great part of the population.

Despite the setback to the movement, I am convinced that this political experience of the young generation in 1968 remains valid among the youth and will bring results.

Q: You were director of Czechoslovak television during the 1968 events. What was the role of TV and radio in these developments?

A: An important condition for socialist democracy is that the people have access to all information regarding the policy and economy of the state. Therefore during the Prague Spring we abolished censorship and established freedom of expression. We considered that the mass media is one of the essential elements of democratization, and our aim was to put the mass media under the control of the public—of the workers, peasants, young people—and in their service. That is, we opened up the media to the masses, which is probably the original Leninist concept too.

This point is very often misunderstood by the Western left, which tends to consider the demand for freedom of expression and information as a specific problem of intellectuals.

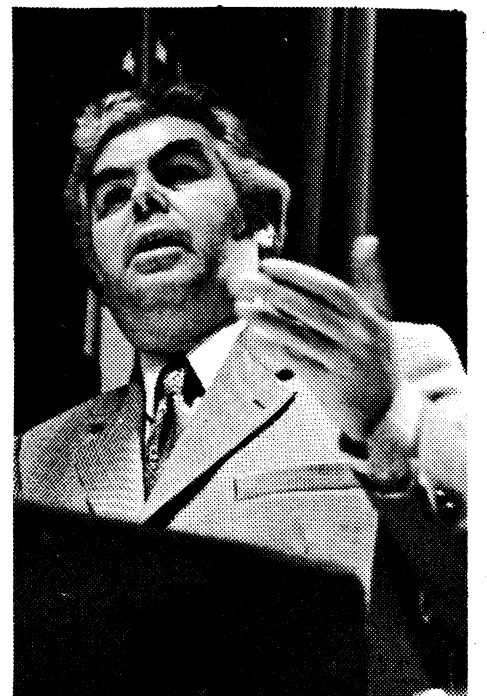
But the political revolution in socialist countries must solve this most important problem so that another bureaucratic group cannot take away the power from the masses. The workers must know the budget of their factory, of their region, of the whole state, if they are to make decisions correctly. Otherwise only the technocrats can decide "on behalf of" the workers.

One of the forms in which we attempted to do this was to broadcast meetings in the factories, or in the agricultural cooperatives, where citizens were putting questions to the ministers or representatives of the party—sometimes very embarrassing questions.

These meetings were in fact a school of democracy for our population. They were referred to as an "explosion of truth," in the sense that many of the realities of our life were for the first time explained.

We tried to institutionalize this democratization of the mass media by establishing a form of popular control. We prepared new regulations for the radio-television which would give control not only to the parliament but also to special committees including representatives of the trade unions and different sections of the population.

Q: What was meant by the slogan "for socialism with a human face"?



Jiri Pelikan

Militant/Mark Satinoff

INTERVIEW WITH JIRI PELIKAN

THE 'PRAGUE SPRING' — FIVE YEARS LATER

television. In 1964 he was elected a member of parliament, becoming in 1968 the president of its Commission for International Affairs. Pelikan was elected a delegate to the Fourteenth Congress of the Czechoslovak CP, which was held secretly in a Prague factory in August 1968 under the guns of the Warsaw Pact occupying forces. At this congress he was elected to the central committee of the party.

Under the crackdown by Moscow following the invasion, Pelikan was removed from his directorship of television and was sent as a counselor to the Czechoslovak embassy in Rome. He was then expelled from the Communist Party and from parliament. Finally his citizenship was withdrawn by the Ministry of the Interior.

He now lives in exile as a journalist.

Q: The Soviet bureaucrats try to justify their invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 by saying that the Prague Spring was a development toward the restoration of capitalism. Why do you believe that the Prague Spring was rather a movement toward strengthening socialist development?

A: The Prague Spring must be seen in the context of the political, economic, and moral crisis of Czechoslovak society prior to 1968. It was the crisis of the Stalinist, bureaucratic model of socialism, imposed by Stalin on Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries—with our approval and support at the time.

A: From a purely theoretical point of view, of course, this expression is somewhat inexact and superfluous, because one can say that there can be no socialism without a human face. But I think it was necessary to adopt some formula that would differentiate the socialism we wanted from the existing forms of "socialism"—or what is called socialism—in Eastern Europe. That is, to differentiate from the bureaucratically centralized, police form of socialism.

I think this expression was understood to mean that socialism should be more attractive to the population; that it should—as Lenin had foreseen—give more democratic freedom and liberties than the capitalist parliamentary system or any other system; that there should be no human problems neglected; that people should not feel any kind of alienation towards their socialist state.

Q: Would you say that during the Prague Spring the masses of people in Czechoslovakia began to enter the political arena? Could you describe how the workers became involved and began to assert their demands?

A: From the very beginning, the leading group wanted to hold the changes within limits that would be decided by the leadership of the party. Therefore, progressive sections of the leadership came to realize that if they really wanted to extend the reform movement into a real movement for democratization, they would need the support of the masses.

At the beginning of the Prague Spring there was a mass meeting in Prague. To the great surprise of everybody, 10,000 came. It was impossible for them all to enter the hall. It was full of young people and it was... an explosion. People asked about everything—about internal party policy, about the role of Novotny, about political trials, about the relationship of the party to non-party members, about relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and China, about who was responsible for the deformations, and how citizens could really exert their democratic rights.

The meeting began at about 7 p.m. and didn't finish until 2 a.m. There were so many people that the leadership was obliged to promise another meeting the following week, and again some 10,000 people came.

There was such a great demand to hear these discussions that it was decided to broadcast them on radio and television. And that was actually the beginning of the explosion because for the first time, through this broadcast, the people in the villages and in distant places understood that something was really happening. Before that, many people had the impression that it was just one group opposing another group, and therefore not so important for them.

I will mention other examples. We broadcast a meeting from an agricultural cooperative near Prague. It was there where the people said for the first time, "Why are we, the peasants working on the collective land, not allowed to have our own organization of peasants?" Before 1968 the peasants were not allowed to have any kind of organization, not even a formal one. This was a big demand, which was later realized in the creation of the Union of Agricultural and Cooperative Peasants.

Of course, there were also meetings in the factories. I was at some meetings where journalists came to speak with the workers and, speaking about the past, the workers criticized the journalists, asking, "Why were you silent?" The journalists said we were silent because it was dangerous to speak out. The workers said, but you should have tried. The journalists replied, yes, but would you have moved in solidarity with us? When there were arrests you did not move either.

So there was a mutual clarification of position, which led to a kind of alliance between the intellectuals and the workers.

There were meetings of all kinds throughout the country; we can say that it was as if all of Czechoslovakia had been transformed into a mass meeting.

Yes, it is true that the masses really began to enter the political scene. This was also true when the Warsaw Pact countries sent the ultimatum to the Dubcek leadership in July 1968 and Dubcek was obliged to convene a meeting of the central committee, where the old Stalinist forces were still in a majority. There was great concern that the central committee might decide to accept the ultimatum and overthrow Dubcek.

Hundreds and thousands of delegations came from different factories, insisting on their right to speak with members of the central committee to hear how they would vote. And the central committee members were obliged to come out and speak with the delegations from their regions, who



Youths carry Czechoslovak flag in defiance of Soviet occupation force, Aug. 21, 1968.

told them if you want to consider yourselves our representatives you must reject this ultimatum, you must stand for this cause.

This mass involvement culminated, in the first days of the occupation when, really without leadership, the masses came into the streets and discussed with the Soviet soldiers, asking why they had come. The people behaved with a great political maturity.

Q: What was the response of the Soviet troops when Czechoslovak citizens began to fraternize with them and tell them there was no counterrevolution?

A: They did not understand at all why they were sent to Czechoslovakia. They were told there was a counterrevolution and they had to save socialism. Some of them, many of them, were ashamed when they heard the arguments of the Czechoslovak citizens. Some officials even committed suicide after these discussions.

After three days of these discussions, the Soviet command sent these troops back to Poland and moved in fresh troops, who were instructed not to carry on any more discussions with the population.

Q: What has been the extent of repression in Czechoslovakia since the crushing of the 1968 upsurge?

A: The repression began in April 1969 with political and administrative measures. First there were the mass purges in the party. About 480,000 members were either expelled or left the party. The second step was the purges in the trade unions. Almost all the leaders of the trade-union movement elected at the March 1969 congress of the trade unions were removed as rightists or revisionists. The same took place in the youth movement, the student movement, and the unions of writers, filmmakers, and journalists, which were dissolved.

The first arrests started in September 1969, after the great demonstration on the first anniversary of the Soviet occupation. They began by arresting some students, then some journalists and intellectuals, later on some leaders of the Communist Party. Then the group of Petr Uhl was arrested, the Socialist Revolutionary Party. Then some other arrests, and the culmination came with the arrests in November '71 and January '72 after the campaign of leafletting against the elections. (Oppositionists passed out leaflets urging voters to exercise their constitutional right to cross names off the list of government-approved candidates.)

They arrested Jaroslav Sabata (former high official in the Communist Party of Moravia), Milan Huebl (former rector of the Communist Party college), Jiri Littera (former secretary of the Prague party committee), and many others.

No one knows exactly how many people have been arrested for political reasons because the regime does not recognize any status of political prisoner. There are about 200 well-known people that we know about; but there are several hundred, or maybe thousands, of young people, workers, teachers, who have been arrested for political reasons, but nobody knows about them.

The repression takes other forms, too, which are maybe less brutal but no less efficient. People are removed from their jobs, their children are not allowed to attend the university. Also the right to strike has been taken away, so workers cannot defend even their economic and class interests.

To some extent the repression has been successful, but on the other hand, we know that the families of those who have been arrested are supported by a sort of fund of solidarity. They are no longer isolated like the victims of the Stalinist trials in the '50s. Now they are well received in the factories, and people are ready to help them and make them feel they are supported.

Q: Leon Trotsky has written extensively on the nature of bureaucratically deformed workers states like Czechoslovakia and the struggle against such regimes. Are the works of Trotsky available in Czechoslovakia, and were any of his writings published during the Prague Spring?

A: Officially, Trotsky's works have not been available since 1948; they were strictly forbidden. Of course they circulated in some restricted circles. It was only in 1968 that it was possible to know anything at all about Trotsky. For example, one of the strongest protests from the Soviet side was when *Literarni Listy* published some excerpts from Isaac Deutscher's book on Stalin.

Today again many people are being accused of being Trotskyists, even if they are not. I have no doubt that young people are interested in reading

what Trotsky really said and wrote. But the possibilities to do so are still limited.

Q: What are the lessons you would draw from the experience of the 1968 upsurge?

A: There are several lessons. One is that for any real change that is not limited to simply technocratic reforms, it is necessary to achieve a kind of alliance, or unity, between the three most important forces: the working class, as the main force; the progressive intellectuals who are able to formulate the political program; and the youth, which is the dynamic force because they feel the contradiction between the ideals of socialism and its practice.

The second lesson is that it is impossible to expect a change to come from only inside the Communist Party, although a certain process of differentiation takes place within the CP, which is the only legal political platform in Eastern Europe. But this process can always be limited if there is no pres-



Militant/Gus Horowitz

Flowers in memory of Jan Palach, who immolated himself in protest of Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

sure from the masses, particularly from the youth, the intellectuals, and the workers.

The third lesson is that it is impossible to achieve any real change in compromise with the present Soviet leadership. You must be aware that any real revolutionary process will come into conflict with them. You should have no illusions, as the Dubcek leadership had, that the Soviet leadership will accept this sort of development because it is in favor of socialism. Because they are not so much interested in socialism as in their privileges and great power interests.

And the fourth lesson would be that it is impossible that such a movement will be successful in one single country—that it has more of a chance if it develops in several socialist countries. It would be more difficult for the Soviet leadership to intervene if the movement arose in two or three countries, like Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary.

Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence

Detroit: City of Race & Class Violence by B. J. Widick. Quadrangle Press. New York, 1972. 271 pp. \$8.95.

"Eleven local union [UAW] presidents in the Detroit area are now black. . . . the auto industry now has over 250,000 black blue-collar workers: GM about 25 per cent, Ford 35 per cent, and Chrysler about 25 per cent. They are concentrated in the Detroit area.

"The friction and outbreaks of violence in the city and the plants in the early 1970's indicated that color-consciousness was prevailing over class-consciousness. This was due, above all, to the new awareness and growing power of the blacks. Forty years of strikes had not made Detroit workers class-conscious, only union-conscious, and this loyalty was being strained by the emergence of black unionism."

These are some of the conclusions of B.J. Widick's new book *Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence*.

Widick chronicles the struggles of the Detroit Black community from the 1920s to today and depicts the impact of the auto industry and the radicalization that produced the United Auto Workers.

Books

In line with the times, Detroit in the 1920s was a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activity. This era of racist reaction was coupled with an economic boom that transformed Henry Ford into an auto baron and made Detroit the auto capital of the world. For the European immigrants and the white and Black migrants from the South, the auto plants offered immediate employment. The work was grueling, the hours long, and the layoffs came often.

Ford reserved the hardest and dirtiest work for his Black wage-slaves—whom he graciously hired in proportion to their percentage of the population, 10 percent. In 1929, before the stock market crash, Blacks numbered about 40,000 out of a blue-collar auto work force of 450,000. In the city, according to Widick, there were about 120,000 Blacks out of a population of 1.5 million.

After the crash, half the auto work force was thrown into the streets, pushing unemployment in the city to 66 percent. Eighty percent of the Black work force was unemployed. And for workers remaining on the job, wages were slashed and slashed again in

order for the employers to reap a profit.

Faced with these conditions, the workers became more and more receptive to radical ideas.

From Klan to CIO

As white workers entered into struggle against the bosses, many of them transferred their fanaticism for the Klan to support for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO.

In fact, it was in one of the Klan strongholds, Akron, Ohio, that U.S. workers began to use the radical new strike technique—the sit-down. Rubber workers there adopted the new tactic in the strikes against Goodyear in late 1935 and early 1936.

The tactic of the sit-down factory occupation got its biggest use in the 1937 strike against General Motors and Chrysler. This outright violation of the "right" of private property quickly forced the employers to recognize the newly formed United Auto Workers union.

These victories in turn set off a wave of sit-down strikes by office workers, restaurant employees, sanitation men, and steelworkers. (For a fuller picture of the radicalization of the 1930s, see *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis, and Farrell Dobbs's *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*. All three books are distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.)

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) organized only skilled or craft workers, opposed strikes, and practiced racial discrimination, but the CIO and its affiliate, the UAW, were quite different. They organized both the skilled and unskilled, they were built upon the weapon of the strike, and they championed the equality of workers regardless of religion, creed, or color.

Thus the Black community, which the employers had long used as a source of scabs, became a supporter of the CIO.

The UAW's stance against racism was one of the keys to the strike victory at Ford in the spring of 1941. The Black workers and the Black community broke with Ford and came over to the side of the union.

With their new-found positions in the unions, Black auto workers began to fight the corporate policy of segregating them into the dirtiest and hardest jobs in the plants. Black workers also attacked discriminatory hiring policies.

March on Washington

This sentiment got dramatic recognition when A. Philip Randolph, a prominent Black labor leader, threatened a mass, all-Black march on Washington to demand fair employment practices. This threat of mass action came as Washington was preparing to intervene in World War II.

President Franklin Roosevelt successfully headed off the march by issuing an executive order banning discrimination in the war industries. Randolph, clutching at Roosevelt's promise, called off preparation for the march in 1941 (not 1942, as Widick erroneously reports).

The struggle against racist hiring and segregationist policies of the industrial barons was hampered by the prowar stance of the CIO and UAW leaders. They tied labor's fate to the two capitalist parties, making it easier for the Roosevelt administration to extract a pledge from the unions not



June 1963. 200,000 people, mainly Blacks, marched in Detroit for 'Freedom Now.'

to strike for the duration of the war.

This meant the unions agreed to abandon any serious struggle for wage hikes and improvements in the conditions of work. The no-strike pledge ruled out any direct action by the unions against race discrimination.

Under these conditions, what class consciousness the white workers possessed gave way repeatedly to their socially ingrained racist prejudices. So, when the bosses made token efforts to place Black workers in previously all-white departments of the plant, the white workers would sometimes respond with wildcat strikes, opposed by both the union and the company.

And outside the plant, the scarcity of government-built housing units exacerbated white racist hostility to Blacks trying to move out of the hell-hole of the ghetto. While Widick accurately describes the situation, he believes the prowar stance of the unions was correct.

With no revolutionary working-class leadership, the war-aggravated social problems in Detroit exploded into a race riot in June 1943. The police and white mobs roamed the streets, beating, maiming, and killing Black people. Twenty-five Blacks and nine whites lost their lives in the conflict.

Although officials of the UAW, including Walter Reuther and the union functionaries of the Stalinist Communist Party, deplored the white rioting, they continued to carry out the no-strike pledge and to subordinate social struggles to the needs of the imperialist war, thus blinding the workers to the real enemy.

The end of the war brought on a gigantic strike upsurge. Widick recounts this, and then describes the beginning of the cold war and McCarthyism, the witch-hunt of radicals in the plants and the purge of many Stalinists from the UAW, and the growth of relative prosperity. These factors halted the radicalization and led to the entrenchment of the bureaucracy and gangsterism in the CIO unions.

With the prosperity, more and more Blacks entered the plants as the city's Black population grew. By 1970, according to government figures, Blacks constituted 43.7 percent of the Detroit population of 1,492,507.

The rise of the Southern civil rights movement in the early 1960s encouraged the struggle of Blacks in the North. On June 23, 1963 (not July 23, as Widick states), more than 200,000 people, mainly Blacks, marched down the main street in Detroit for "Freedom Now" in solidarity with the Southern struggle.

1967 Black rebellion

Four years later, on July 23, 1967, the rise in consciousness and expectations that this march helped generate suddenly exploded in open rebellion. Touched off by an incident of police brutality, the uprising became the biggest urban eruption of the 1960s.

As Widick points out, nobody in City Hall expected it because Blacks seemed so "well-off" and "satisfied," with many jobs paying \$4 and \$5 an hour in the auto plants.

Since the 1967 rebellion, despite token poverty and employment programs, the problems of the Black community and the city as a whole continue to worsen—police brutality continues and the public school system is on the verge of collapse.

Nevertheless, because of the central role Blacks play in the UAW and other labor unions, Widick sees Detroit as the "Black Metropolis of the Future." His vision of this "metropolis" is rather limited, though. In keeping with his own illusions, he equates the inevitable election of a Black Democrat or Republican as mayor of Detroit with Blacks coming to power. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Widick's own account of the class and racial struggles that have rocked Detroit demonstrates that there can be no headway toward solving the problems of Blacks as long as they remain tied to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

The election of a Black Democrat or Republican as mayor would mean only cosmetic change, not real change. To bring about real change the masses of Blacks will have to break from the two capitalist parties and set out to build an independent Black party.

The formation of a mass Black party—
Continued on page 22



More than 25 percent of the auto workers in Detroit are Black.

UAW picks Chrysler as strike target

Militant protests hit 3 Detroit auto plants

DETROIT—The United Auto Workers union has picked the Chrysler Corporation as its 1973 strike target. Contracts with the "Big Three" auto companies expire Sept. 14.

This decision to single out Chrysler in the UAW's "one-at-a-time" strike strategy comes on the heels of three separate militant actions by Chrysler workers here during recent weeks. These actions have been triggered by smoldering resentment against Chrysler's racist policies, typical of the industry, and demands for improvement in health and safety conditions in the plants.

On July 24 two young Black workers, supported by several hundred others, shut off the power at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant for 13 hours.

A spontaneous walkout at the Detroit Forge (Lynch Road) plant began Aug. 8 after the company rejected a complaint on health and safety conditions. This walkout lasted six days.

And on Aug. 16, a third action ended after a 30-hour sit-in by some 75 workers at the Mack Avenue stamping plant. This sit-in was sparked by the firing of several workers and demands for improvement in working conditions.

Black workers provided the driving force behind these actions, and won support from white workers. The strikers have had to confront UAW officials who are dragging their feet in the fight for better working conditions and have sided with management to halt work stoppages. But the sabotage by these union bureaucrats has not prevented the workers from taking action. The recent events in the auto plants here are embryonic expressions of pent-up frustrations and boiling anger at backed-up grievances and racism.

At the Lynch Road plant, a number of Black workers had been fired for bogus reasons in the last few weeks. Also, just before the walkout, a skilled tradesman got four fingers chopped off by his machine.

How widespread the hazardous working conditions are can be seen from what happened when the strikers went to court to fight an injunction. As evidence of safety hazards, they produced many workers who had lost ears, fingers, and feet in plant accidents.

The support for the Lynch Road

walkout was phenomenal. Only 60 out of 1,500 workers went back to work the second day. This very effective six-day strike was carried out without any violence.

The Mack Ave. occupation

The occupation at the Mack Avenue stamping plant began Aug. 14 after an employee, William Gilbreth, was fired for supposedly having falsified his job application. Gilbreth, who is white, is a member of the Progressive Labor Party—a small, sectarian group that used to consider itself Maoist.

After being fired, Gilbreth came into the plant with a fellow worker and sat on the conveyor belt of the assembly line. Plant security guards came to eject the two, and a fight broke out.

More than 75 workers gathered around in solidarity with the two men and began a sit-in. Picket lines were thrown up outside the plant as word spread. Signs read, "End Racial Harassment," "Slow Down the Line," and "Clean Up This Mess."

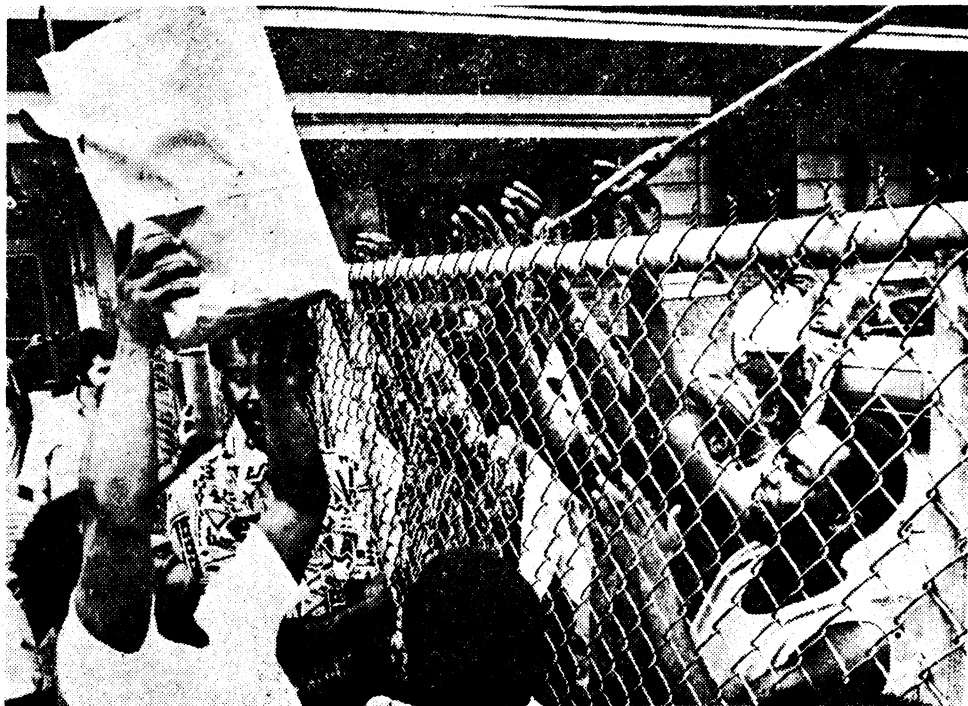
The treacherous role of the UAW officials was highlighted two days later. One thousand UAW officials of Detroit-area locals, wearing yellow armbands reading "sergeant-at-arms," massed outside the Mack Avenue plant to make sure the plant would open. They carried baseball bats and walking sticks. More than 100 cops were also on hand.

According to the Aug. 16 *Detroit News*, "The decision to mobilize local UAW leaders to assure the reopening of the plant was made yesterday afternoon by the union's international officers."

Gilbreth was attacked and beaten as he tried to enter the plant. The justification for the union bureaucracy's strikebreaking activity was given by UAW Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey. He explained that the Aug. 16 mobilization by the bureaucracy was a declaration of war against radicals who have been "disrupting" the UAW's relationship with the auto companies.

'A bunch of punks'

Mazey said, "We are not going to let a bunch of outsiders take over our union. They are a bunch of punks. We are not going to let them destroy everything we worked so hard to build." Local radio and TV sta-



Supporters from Black community lift bags of food to workers occupying Chrysler Mack Avenue plant.

tions, taking advantage of the atmosphere created by these statements, repeatedly broadcast management appeals for the Mack Avenue workers to return to the plant.

UAW Vice-president Douglas Fraser, head of the union's Chrysler department, showed his contempt for the rank-and-file workers as he traced the source of the trouble at the Lynch Road and Mack stamping plant.

He explained that the problem was the success of Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter, who led the action at the Jefferson Avenue plant in the first of the recent actions. "It was absolutely a mistake for Chrysler to give in during the Jefferson lock-in," Fraser declared.

The ruling class in Detroit, and first and foremost the auto barons, are well aware of the explosive situation in the plants, and the mood of the Black workers. The daily papers here have been on a big campaign to isolate and discredit the militants. The Aug. 16 *Detroit Free Press*, in a shrill editorial entitled "Takeovers Aren't the Way To Solve Safety Problems," said:

"The lawless takeover of the Mack Ave. stamping plant—the third unauthorized shutdown of a Detroit Chrysler facility in the last month—points to a potential crisis for both the United Auto Workers and the auto

companies that must be dealt with immediately.

"The issues and circumstances of the three shutdowns have been different, but in all three instances workers took matters into their own, and out of the UAW's hands. The union must regain control, and there are positive signs that it is beginning to. . . .

"Worker discontent, obvious in all three Chrysler plant closings, must be understood and dealt with at the bargaining table."

Impact on negotiations

These militant actions will have a big impact on the negotiations for new contracts now under way. Even though the union officialdom was completely opposed to these actions, they will stand on them and consequently go to the bargaining table with a firmer hand.

These actions, however limited in scope, show deepening discontent among the UAW ranks. They also show the readiness of workers to move into action to win their demands. As the Sept. 14 strike deadline nears, the Chrysler workers—and all other UAW members—will be watching closely the course of the negotiations, and the progress on their demands. If a nationwide strike is called, they will be ready.

...Black workers explain fight vs. Chrysler

Continued from page 24

workers booed them down. We kept demanding that they negotiate so everyone could see. Finally, they gave in. But this wasn't until 6:55 that evening, about 13 hours later.

"Then management and union officials came to us and we began the negotiations. The workers set up a table in front of the cage and we stayed inside. The production manager began writing what we wanted them to write. He agreed to all three of our demands.

The tactic Shorter and Carter used was in some ways similar to the great sit-down strikes conducted by auto workers in the past. I asked how they had decided to follow this course. Why hadn't they proposed a walkout?

"We had a walkout when Woolsey first removed the seats off the line," Carter said. "Some workers walked out, but those who did got written up. And they were threatened with being fired if they did it again."

"We knew that a walkout wouldn't be as effective as far as gaining pow-

er over the plant," explained Shorter. "Many workers would stay in. Others would be penalized. And we couldn't really hit back at the company.

"We had support from the surrounding Black community and from workers from other plants around the city. And they were out front with picket lines on our behalf. It started with about 80 protesters on the line. We also told the workers to notify the news media, but plant protection wouldn't let reporters inside."

The conditions in the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant are similar to many of the auto plants in this city. The air is polluted. "It's just like the city of Los Angeles," said Shorter, "polluted at all times."

I mentioned a newspaper account that referred to the "ghetto-like" atmosphere inside the plant. "Right!" Shorter exclaimed. "They have big rats running around inside, about as big as cats. There is trash all over. They have stock in all the aisles, and workers trip over it and get injured."

In addition to the dangerous con-

ditions, there is speedup. "They run on the average about 62 cars an hour," Carter told me. "When they speed it up it goes to as much as 75. They did that this week. When the line breaks down and they want to make up for lost cars, they speed it up."

And there is the heat. "If it's 80 degrees on the outside then it's 95 inside," said Shorter. "There's no ventilation and very few fans. Those that they do have are in the areas of the white, skilled workers."

Both Shorter and Carter were very interested in the negotiations now going on between the UAW and the auto companies.

Shorter said he felt that there should be "an open session where the workers can voice their opinion about the contract, tell them what the workers want. I think the workers should vote on the different stands the union should be taking."

Shorter said he thinks that wages should be "the primary objective in the talks, because of the high cost

of living in this country. If we're going to keep up with the food prices, we're going to have to have the money."

What about unemployment? "The unions should stress that too, especially unemployment in the Black community. The union should demand of Chrysler that it cut down on some of the work they're putting on the workers in the plants in order to give some jobs to others. The workers in the plants are overworked. The average worker does the job of two people."

The two men also mentioned the need to "clean up" the plants, install air conditioners and safety devices, and end compulsory overtime.

I mentioned that UAW President Leonard Woodcock had said earlier this year that he didn't think a strike would be necessary.

"The reason he said that," responded Isaac Shorter, "is because the union isn't asking for anything in the first place."

...Guardian

Continued from page 17

al After Lenin. Emphasis in original.)

The real difference between Trotsky and Stalin was thus the difference between the Leninist position, that only the working class aligned with the poor peasants can solve the bourgeois-democratic tasks by overthrowing the capitalists, and the Menshevik position that the bourgeoisie should be supported as the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In fact, the Stalinists in China went even further than the Mensheviks had—the Mensheviks never dissolved their party into the parties of the Russian capitalists!

Contrary to Stalin's predictions, Chiang Kai-shek did not lead the Chinese revolution to victory over imperialism. Instead he acted as the bloody executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants, and Stalin's policy of supporting him under the cover of the "bloc of four classes" resulted in a tragic defeat. Now that Davidson's falsifications of Trotsky's position and Stalin's position have been sorted out, our next article will take up the true history and lessons of the Second Chinese Revolution.

...Kent

Continued from page 5

of the massacre and the FBI's subsequent handling of his case. "Mr. Norman received press credentials to enter the campus on May 4, when he appeared before the National Guard public relations officer Michael Delaney with a campus security officer who told Mr. Delaney that the youth was 'shooting pictures under contract for the FBI.'"

"Mr. Delaney told the Monitor he next saw Mr. Norman running from the scene of the shooting holding a

pistol. Mr. Delaney says he took the pistol and gave it to a campus police officer who exclaimed, 'My God, it's been fired.'

"Mr. Delaney's account is corroborated by former Akron TV newscaster Fred DeBrine, who identified the campus officer as Detective Tom Kelley. However, Detective Kelley, along with Patrolman Harold Rice, who was also present when Mr. Norman was disarmed, wrote in the official Kent State police reports that no shots had been fired.

"Mr. DeBrine, who had met Mr. Norman . . . before, says the youth had told him that on occasion he took . . . pictures on campus for the FBI. . . .

"Mr. DeBrine says he heard campus detective Tom Kelley say Mr. Norman's pistol had been fired. But when the newsman visited Detective Kelley two days later, the officer told him he had been 'kidding' about the weapon's having been used.

"In his response to Senator Bayh, FBI Director Kelley disclosed that the bureau had never questioned Mr. Norman after May 4. Nor had it probed the circumstances of his gaining press credentials as an FBI photographer. The FBI received Mr. Norman's gun on May 5, 1970, the day after the shootings, but never examined it to determine whether it had been fired

"The bureau questioned the two campus police officers who denied the gun had been fired, but it never contacted Mr. Delaney or Mr. DeBrine, although Mr. Delaney spoke with an FBI agent at the scene and volunteered his name and address."

Since this account was published, TV news programs have broadcast film coverage of Kent State showing Norman handing his gun over to the campus police officer. These TV accounts also say that Norman is now working for a special department of the Washington, D. C., police department. As yet, however, the FBI has still not indicated whether it has questioned him.

...Detroit

Continued from page 20

ty will signal the break of a racially oppressed minority from the parties of racism. It will also represent the break of the most oppressed section of the working class from the capitalist two-party system. This would mark the first stage in the development of a labor party.

The dynamic of the Black struggle stems from the combined and dual character of the Black condition. As Widick demonstrates in the case of the auto workers, Blacks are an oppressed nationality as well as an integral part of the U.S. working class. Any independent action that this oppressed national minority takes will have profound consequences for the working class as a whole.

Although Widick's book fails to draw these revolutionary conclusions, it nonetheless provides a useful history of the Black struggle in Detroit.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Bert Corona Speaks

on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare. In English or Spanish. 35 cents.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY

Leon Trotsky

introduction by Ernest Mandel

"Trotsky's attempt to arouse the working class of Germany to the danger that threatened it was his greatest political deed in exile. Like no one else, and much earlier than anyone, he grasped the destructive delirium with which National Socialism was to burst upon the world."—Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*

480 pp., \$12.50, paper \$3.95

PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303)-573-1588. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Jim Miles, 1207 South Wall, Hoffman House #147, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., Lafayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

New Orleans: YSA, c/o Clarence Williams, 3141 N. Tonti St., New Orleans, La. 70117.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R. S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant, YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Central New Jersey: YSA, c/o Bill Balderston, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 381-2897.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio, 43228. Tel: (614) 878-5297.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Mary Pauli, 1195 Tyler, Eugene, Ore. 97402. Tel: (503) 344-5525.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: YSA, P.O. Box 7353 Oakland Station, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 422-8185.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Leviitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

two volumes The First Five Years of the Communist International by Leon Trotsky

During its early years the Communist (or Third) International represented the revolutionary aspirations of socialists around the world. These two volumes contain the major speeches, manifestos, and other writings prepared by Trotsky in close collaboration with Lenin for this international body. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$3.75 per volume. Two volume set: cloth \$17.90, paper \$7.50.

Monad Press Books, exclusively distributed by PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 Tel. (212) 741-0690



MILITANT SHOULDER BAG

Order your Militant carrying bag today! Bright yellow canvas bag with red or black lettering. 19x12x9 inches deep, with strong shoulder strap. Large enough to carry dozens of Militants plus books, leaflets, etc. Indispensable for the fall sales campaign.

Send me () Militant shoulder bags at \$4 each. () Red () Black
Enclosed is \$_____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Now available

January-June 1973 Militant bound volume and index, \$10.50.

Index only, \$1.

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Issues in Radical Therapy

IRT is a practical journal which speaks to people who are in opposition to establishment psychiatry. IRT contains articles which grow out of doing Radical Therapy. Articles about how to do it. Theoretical articles. Articles about the oppressive misuse of psychiatry. Articles about how political oppression causes psychiatric disturbance. And more.

Enclosed is \$6 (\$12/institutions), 4 issues/year

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____
Send to: P.O. Box 23544, Oakland, Calif. 94623.



The Case of the Legless Veteran James Kutcher

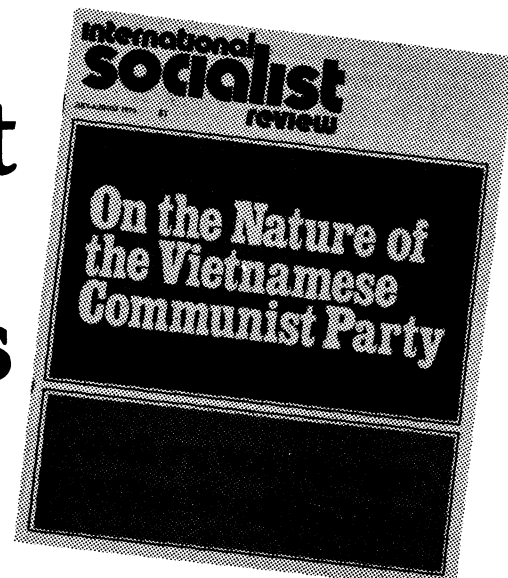
The story of a man who fought and defeated the witch-hunters during the Joe McCarthy era.

"Your book moved me profoundly, and I would like to tell you why. . . . In this book, which is so completely American, and yet so purely free from national pride and arrogance, so personal and yet so objective, you have unknowingly given the movement a model example of the right way to explain socialism to those who need the information most."—James P. Cannon, *The Militant*

First U.S. edition, expanded. Photos. 256 pp., \$8.95, paper \$2.95

A Monad Press Book exclusively distributed by
PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 Tel. (212) 741-0690

a Marxist analysis of today's issues



subscribe. 3 mos. \$1 / 1 yr. \$5

() Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.
() Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____
International Socialist-Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

Does capitalism bug you?

Join the Young Socialist Alliance!



The Young Socialist Alliance is a multi-national revolutionary youth organization. We stand for fundamentally changing society by fighting against racism, sexism and the exploitation of working people. Our goal is a socialist society, democratically controlled by the majority of people—not by a handful of powerful bankers and millionaires. We know that a better world is not only possible, but is absolutely necessary. Join us in the fight.

____ I want to join the YSA.
____ I want more information about the YSA.
____ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months (6 issues) of the *Young Socialist*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003; (212) 989-7570

Land or Death by Hugo Blanco

With an introduction by Peter Camejo.
\$6.95 cloth, \$2.45 paper.
PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

Sell The Militant

Help The Militant get around by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 12.5 cents each, and we bill you at the end of each month.

Please send me 5 10 25
other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

THE MILITANT

A Militant interview

Angry Black workers close Chrysler plant

By MACEO DIXON

DETROIT—On a Tuesday morning late last month Chrysler Corporation's huge Jefferson Avenue assembly plant was brought to a standstill. Two Black workers, Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter, both spot welders, climbed into a wire-enclosed cage and cut the power running the assembly line. Their goal was to force the company to fire a racist supervisor.

The two men were protected and supported by hundreds of workers who remained in the plant. By that evening, the company had been forced to capitulate. The racist supervisor was fired, and Shorter and Carter won their additional demand of no reprisals.

A few days after the shutdown, I talked to Shorter and Carter. I know

Maceo Dixon is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit

both of them, since they had been active in the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, a group I helped to organize. STRESS is the acronym for a plainclothes Detroit police terror squad "Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets."

I asked the two what led them to take the action they did. "From the time Tom Woolsey, the racist supervisor, came into the department," Shorter said, "he has been constantly harassing the workers, laying workers off, firing them—you name it, he was doing it."

"And so we decided, Larry and I, to draw up a petition for the immediate removal of Tom Woolsey. We carried the petition around to the workers and got a good response. We had 214 names on the petition," Shorter explained. There are 250 workers in the section where Shorter and Carter work.

Carter delivered the petitions to the United Auto Workers union (UAW) chief steward. "The steward didn't come to me and tell me anything more about the petition," Carter said. "When I turned them in he didn't say if they were going to remove Tom Woolsey or not. So I didn't ask him any more about it. We moved to a higher level of struggle."

Was there any one particular incident that set off the decision to circulate the petitions? "Yes," Carter explained, "Woolsey had gone up and down the line and removed all the chairs so people couldn't sit on them. You see, when we go on our relief, most people just sit right on the chairs near the line. But Woolsey came along and removed all the seats and took them back upstairs to the cafeteria."

The incident with the chairs followed on the heels of harassment by the supervisor. Workers were fined and laid off for being late.



Ira Rosenberg

Isaac Shorter (left) and Larry Carter held up in triumph by workers at Chrysler plant after forcing company to fire racist supervisor.

Woolsey directed this harassment primarily at the Black workers. One newspaper account told of him calling one employee a "Black sonofabitch."

Isaac Shorter described what happened the morning they decided to act. "When we went in, I saw one worker and told him what we were going to do. But I didn't tell him the exact place. At 6:03 a.m. we were climbing over the 10-foot fence and we cut the power off. Then workers started gathering around asking us what was going on and telling us we had their support."

"At that point, two tradesmen came in the area to find out what was happening on the line. And the foremen and supervisors were running around trying to find out what was wrong with the line. They kept running past us, not knowing who had cut the power off."

"We wrapped a piece of cable around the gate. When they found out we were in there, they wanted to torchweld the cable. But I put my hand around the cable, so they didn't do it. Also, all the workers had gathered around, and they said if they torched my hand there would be bloodshed right there in the plant. So they didn't try to torch it."

The newspapers had said that several hundred workers had gathered around the two men. I asked if there were both Black and white workers

in the crowd.

"Right! Black and white workers supported us," Shorter said. "But it was majority Black. There are also a lot of Arabs in the plant, and they were supporting it too."

Representatives from the local and the international union came in. "They wanted to know what our demands were," Shorter recalled. "We told them our demands were: 1) immediate removal of Tom Woolsey; 2) amnesty; 3) all negotiations to be conducted out front for all to see. Not behind closed doors, isolated from the workers. We wanted the workers to know what was going on."

The chief steward was also there. "He came and told us to come out. Come out of the cage," Carter said. "But we just told him we weren't going to come out." The steward told them they would be fired.

"Chrysler sent the general plant manager and the production manager," Shorter said. "They came down and told us they were going to fire Woolsey and that no charges would be pressed against us. That was about 7 a.m."

"We told them our demands, and they said they would go back and negotiate them with the union. We said we didn't want it like that. But they ignored us. Then they came back and said they fired Woolsey and no charges would be pressed against us."

"But they still would not negotiate

with us in the open for the workers to see for themselves what was happening. So every time management would say something to us the crowd would boo them away."

"And when plant management tried to tell them to go back to work," added Carter, "they were booed away again."

Shorter continued his account: "Workers were coming in from all areas of the plant. We were in the north plant. Workers from the south plant would come up to show their support. Workers continually came bringing us pop, food, and cigarettes."

"Workers offered to take our place and escort us to and from the restroom. They wouldn't allow anyone to touch us. But we didn't leave the cage because we didn't want any violence."

"During this time we steadily talked to the workers, like a political education class. We explained what we were doing and why."

Company officials came down five times to talk with Carter and Shorter. The first three times, they offered only verbal promises. The fourth time, they presented a written proposal, but it was inadequate. Shorter explained that "we kept demanding that they negotiate with us out front. We would negotiate, not the union. Us and the workers."

"We wouldn't listen to them. The

Continued on page 21